Introducing: Leon E. McKinney's *Washington Letter*

CALIFORNIA ★ POLITICAL
REVIEW
JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1999 • VOLUME 10 • NUMBER 1 • $4.00

The Blessings of Pragmatic Moderation
— *or* —
We're *all* Wilsonites Now
by John Kurzweil

The Midnight Economist Restored

Criticus in Portugal

California Republicans'

Post-Lungren Trauma

Can the GOP learn from a brain-dead campaign?

Arnold Steinberg

Vote Republican because ... uhm ... err ... well
***CPR's* Panel of Political Experts:**
William E. Saracino • Tim W. Ferguson • Mary Louise Frawley
Glynn Custred • Leon E. McKinney • David F. Faustman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Opening for Common Sense

"The beginning of political wisdom is the recognition that liberalism is at the end of its intellectual tether."
— Irving Kristol

What used to be called "liberalism" has degenerated into reflexive attacks on everything from the family car to free speech to the Boy Scouts — a movement without a mind and with nowhere to lead. Common sense is the cure — find it in the pages of *California Political Review*. Subscribe today!

I can't tell you how impressed I am with California Political Review. — **William A. Rusher**

California Political Review's pages reflect the common sense conservative principles that guided the administrations of Ronald Reagan in which I was privileged to serve — a refreshing voice on California's political scene. — **Hon. Edwin Meese III**

California Political Review is filling a critical need in the Golden State. — **Bruce Herschensohn**

Send me a full year of *California Political Review* (SIX bimonthly issues) for the special NEW SUBSCRIBER rate of just $14.95 — more than 40% off the cover price! ___ Check (payable to the California Public Policy Foundation) ___ Credit Card: ___ MC ___ Visa

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date _____ Signature _____

Call: 1-800-887-7676

or send this form to the address below. Thank you.

Name _____
Please Print
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

Must reading for informed Conservatives

California Political Review, P.O. Box 931 Camarillo, California 93011-0931

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1999 • VOLUME 10 • NUMBER 1

FEATURES

Washington Letter: Leon E. McKinney's California Congressional Delegation Report 13
Congressman Chris Cox says his panel found that two U.S. companies with close Clinton/DNC ties may have harmed U.S. security in dealings with China.

COVER ARTICLE: Post-Lungren Trauma By Arnold Steinberg 15
Can the GOP learn from a brain-dead campaign?

***CPR* Roundtable: 'Vote Republican because ... uhm ... err ... well ....'** 18
Diagnosis, and some prognosis, on last November's electoral woes for California's GOP by *CPR's* Panel of Political Experts: William E. Saracino • Tim W. Ferguson • Mary Louise Frawley Glynn Custred • Leon E. McKinney • David F. Faustman

The Blessings of Pragmatic Moderation — *or* — We're *all* Wilsonites Now 24
By John Kurzweil — Conservatism's simplistic answers and extremist zealotry once brought prosperity, optimism, and GOP victory to California — but Republicans have matured beyond all that.

DEPARTMENTS

Correspondence 2
Sacramento Spectator 3
The Law By Mark S.Pulliam 4
The Front Line 5
Facts about Gun Control 6
Midnight Economist By William R. Allen 8
The Working Press By Tim W. Ferguson 10

ARTS & CULTURE

Criticus By G.B. Tennyson 30

"Castles, Consorts, and Casinos" — An October week's sojourn in Portugal for Criticus, gently intoxicated by the sounds of the language as by the excellent and little-known Portuguese wines, not to mention by history, culture, castles, and some unusual royal linkages.

Treemonisha By Richard Morgan 35

A poem on an opera composed by Scott Joplin in which Joplin achieved a synthesis of classical form and jazz essence still unsurpassed.

A PUBLICATION OF THE CALIFORNIA PUBLIC POLICY FOUNDATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

A PUBLICATION OF THE
CALIFORNIA PUBLIC POLICY FOUNDATION

JOHN KURZWEIL
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

JAN EDWARDS
MANAGING EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
LEON E. MCKINNEY
RICHARD FERRIER • *ACADEME*
STEVE BALDWIN • *EDUCATION*
MARK S. PULLIAM • *LEGAL ISSUES CORRESPONDENT*
WILLIAM R. ALLEN • *ECONOMICS CORRESPONDENT*
TIM W. FERGUSON • *THE WORKING PRESS*
RICHARD MORGAN • *POET LAUREATE*
DAVID FAUSTMAN • *BOOKS*

GENE FOLEY • *BUSINESS MANAGER*
PAUL MCCAULEY • *BUSINESS SERVICES*
SHAWN STEEL • *LEGAL ADVISOR*

EDITORIAL BOARD

JOSEPH FARAH, PETER HANNAFORD,
DAVID HOROWITZ,
HAROLD JOHNSON, MANUEL S. KLAUSNER,
WILLIAM RUSHER, WILLIAM SARACINO,
G. B. TENNYSON

California Political Review (ISSN 1075-3079) is published bimonthly by the California Public Policy Foundation. Send address changes, manuscripts, and Correspondence to: Editor, *California Political Review*, Post Office Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Correspondence may be condensed due to space limitations. Unsolicited manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Signed articles express their authors' opinions and do not necessarily reflect the views of the California Public Policy Foundation which does not endorse or oppose candidates or intervene in any candidate election campaign. Unsigned editorials express the editors' opinions and not necessarily the views of the California Public Policy Foundation. Rates: $24 yearly (six issues). Outside U.S. add $4 per year surface, $20 for airmail. *California Political Review* is copyright © 1999 by the California Public Policy Foundation.

California Political Review (ISSN 1075-3079) is published bimonthly for $24 per year by the California Public Policy Foundation, 15456 Ventura Blvd., Suite 300, Sherman Oaks, CA 91403. Periodical Postage Paid at Van Nuys, CA, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *California Political Review*, P.O. Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931.

CORRESPONDENCE

Election Dissection

I am not a political-junkie, since like most people I am too busy with my life to think about politics any more than necessary. I voted Republican this election (while holding my nose), but obviously the Democrats were better at energizing their voter base in what was supposed to be a Republican year.

I can only wonder about Dan Lungren, Matt Fong, and other Republican candidates who stood dumbfounded election night as they watched their Democrat opponents win race after race. What truly amazes me is that many of these same Republican office seekers ignored or openly mocked conservatives and their values, and actually expected us to feel enthusiastic about them. They believed we had no choice but to vote for them. They forgot, however, the one option too many Republicans took — to stay home on election night all together.

I want to express my gratitude to you people at *California Political Review* for caring enough to publish the truth and to stand by your beliefs. If we had more Republican candidates with these virtues (or at least a spine), it would have been a banner Republican year.

Kris Gustafson
Huntington Beach

Mothered to Distraction

Do you want to know what happened in the last election? It's simple.

In the past several years, under a Republican governor, Californians have been mothered to distraction by the state government. Californians are now compelled by law to wear a seatbelt when driving a car and a helmet when riding a bike, Schwinn or Harley. About six million Californians find the state anti-smoking *jihad* to be an affront to their liberty. Millions more find recent gun control efforts to be something between absurd and dictatorial. Californians do not understand why their taxes (some of the highest in the nation) are used to support some two million illegal immigrants in the state.

Rather than provide relief from government intrusion the state moved to increase it. Under some absolutely dizzy environmental regulations, the state installed a new diesel fuel formula which promptly cost the trucking industry millions in ruined engines. Fresh from that success, the state imposed a new, cleaner gasoline which is now poisoning our water supply with MTBE. The disastrous SMOG II program was initiated. Meanwhile, state regulations requiring the replacement of in-ground gas tanks has nearly eliminated independent service stations. For this Californians get to pay more per gallon than any other state on the continent.

Public education has been reduced to a joke. Nobody sends their kids to school to learn self-esteem. They send them to learn how to read, write, to do math, and have some sense of how this society works. It is patently preposterous that the education industry cannot define what a student should know at the third grade level.

What California saw in the last election were two career politicians, neither very inspiring, running for governor. They both looked like empty suits. However, having been jerked around badly when not being outright ignored by Republican administrations over the past few years, they chose change. Mr. Davis looked harmless. Mr. Lungren could have beat

(Please turn to page 23)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Every student who pays attention in school recalls that for want of a nail a kingdom was lost. Now we can add to that the saying that for want of someone willing to stand up to Dan Lungren over the years an election and any chance of legislative majorities were lost.

Danny Lungren has long been among both the most charming and egotistical of Republican politicians. Nobody through the years bothered to stand up to Dan and hit him between the eyes with the two-by-four of political fact — that his ego would eventually be his downfall. His 38 percent of the vote was self-scripted and self-directed from the get go, with no advice from anyone with the stature even to suggest Lungren might be wrong in his judgments. The pity is that he took many good Republican candidates down with him. Sometimes we do our friends a favor by politely pointing out potentially fatal flaws. Lungren apparently had nobody brave or devoted enough to do so.

Having so recently witnessed the Lungren suicide, your *Spectator* is truly amazed that the state Republican Party may be about to do the same thing. Current GOP Treasurer Shawn Steel had for some time been heir apparent for the office of vice chairman.

At the last minute however, serious opposition has developed to Steel. Some hardline conservatives don't like the fact that he is a — *gasp* — trial attorney by profession. Some others question the state GOP's fund raising and expenditure decisions, though those were in hands of Chairman Mike Schroeder, not Steel.

The driving force behind the opposition to Steel though is Pete Wilson and his operatives. They don't want another conservative in the line of succession. Steel has a 30-year-long record of conservative activism and the Wilsonites still recoil from that as Dracula from the crucifix.

The really amazing thing to your *Spectator* is who these anti-Steel forces have chosen as their candidate — Tirso del Junco, who has already been chairman twice. If we are going down memory lane, why stop at del Junco? Maybe Joe Shell or Goodwin Knight is available. Perhaps Pio Pico has an unemployed great grandson.

Electing two-time retread del Junco as vice chairman would essentially be throwing in the towel for the state GOP. A nice man personally, Tirso is also a man of the past and would be a slavish servant of the masters who elected him — Pete Wilson, *et. al.* Shawn Steel carries with him the controversies that attach to any conservative who tries to accomplish things nowadays.

Steel is an energetic man of ideas — conservative ideas. That is why Wilson and crowd are desperate enough to exhume del Junco and try to breath life into him just one more time. The delegates to the GOP convention in February in Sacramento will have a stark choice — backward to the '70s with Wilson and del Junco or forward to the millennium with Shawn Steel and his conservative agenda. It *ought* to be an easy choice.

— A. P. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LAW

The Year In Review

The debacle of 1996 was but a prelude to the drubbing of 1998. The message for conservatives in 1999 is 'Buckle your seatbelts.'

MARK S. PULLIAM

LOOKING BACK at 1998, this much seems clear: 1999 will be even worse. There is no point in sugar coating the bitter pill of November 3. Assembly Judiciary Committee Chairman Martha Escutia, whose puerile utterances were featured here in *CPR's* January/February issue last year ("Shockingly Homogenous?"), escaped term limits by getting elected to the state Senate in District 30 with 74 percent of the vote. Chief Justice Ron George, a frequent subject in these pages, was retained by a lopsided 75-to-25 percent margin, virtually the same level of support enjoyed by Associate Justice Janice Brown, his jurisprudential antithesis. Up and down the ballot, appellate judges saw a dramatic improvement in the percentage of votes cast in favor of their retention — generally in the mid-to-high 70 percent range — a level not seen since 1986. Since then, the average level of "yes" votes for judges on the ballot has declined each election. In 1994, without any organized opposition whatsoever, both Ming Chin (then on the Court of Appeal) and Ron George (then a Supreme Court Associate Justice) were retained with just 57 percent of the vote. This year, George won by a 3-1 margin and Chin — with the weakest showing of any appellate judge statewide — improved his 1994 showing with 69 percent voting to confirm.

How does one explain the dramatic improvement in support for these two judges in particular, and for appellate judges generally, in the face of organized opposition and the controversy surrounding *American Academy of Pediatrics v. Lungren*? Two factors were at work. First, at George's urging, the Legislature voted to conceal from the voters the length of the term (usually 12 years) for which appellate judges seek retention, beginning with the 1998 election. This information, disclosed for the first time on the 1994 ballot, coincided with a sharp drop in popular support for judges seeking retention, as compared to the 1990 election. Many observers concluded that disgruntled voters were registering their frustration by voting against judges in protest. But concealing the length of the judicial term, by itself, does not explain the high levels of support for judges in 1998, which were considerably higher than they were in 1990, with the same ballot language, when the decline in support first became evident.

THE SECOND (and probably more significant) factor at work was the wholly ineffectual opposition by the California Prolife Council to George and Chin, alongside the California Republican Party's bumbling effort — stage-managed by CRP Chairman Michael Schroeder — to avoid embarrassing a GOP establishment responsible for repeatedly promoting these two judges who ungratefully turned out, most plainly in the *American Academy* case, to be a pair of flagrant judicial activists. (At the request of his membership, California Republican Party Chairman Michael Schroeder established a CRP "Judicial Evaluations Committee" early in 1998 to gather information on state judges to help Republicans make an informed decision in voting on them. But Schroeder then stacked the committee with supporters of George and Chin who urged support for them and opposition to Associate Justice Stanley Mosk and to several Court of Appeal judges. Finally, the whole

Mark S. Pulliam, California Political Review's *legal issues correspondent, is an attorney in private practice in San Diego*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FRONT LINE

The dropout rate for California schools is about 3 percent, according to reports issued by the Democrat-dominated state *Department* of Education (DOE). But questionable methods for determining the rate, and evidence that kids are actually leaving school at much higher rates suggest that a new, more accurate calculation is needed.

As one of its final acts, in its last meeting this January, the State *Board* of Education (dominated by Wilson appointees) will decide what, if anything, to do to provide Californians a more reliable school dropout rate figure.

The State DOE's 3 percent figure is compiled from calculations forwarded to the state by local entities — public school districts and county education boards. One reason the reported dropout rate is considered suspect is that the local calculations often count only students who drop-out during the academic year, ignoring those who leave for summer vacation and do not return in the fall.

Another reason: the DOE number is a "high school statistic," which means it fails to count children who leave before ninth grade. As early as 1991, the

state's Little Hoover Commission was reporting that "substantial numbers of students are dropping out prior to high school." The Commission quoted the president of an international management consulting firm that specializes in education. He said his research showed that the dropout rate *prior to the sixth grade* for Hispanic children in Los Angeles was *33 percent!*

Richard Fossey, associate dean of Louisiana State University's College of Education, says the local school districts and education boards whose reports are the basis for DOE's drop-out rate have a significant incentive to "give themselves every break in terms of counting dropouts" to improve their image before their communities and customer base. Accurate counting of dropouts is labor-intensive work, and the costs for fudging appear to be low. Schools do not receive government funding based on dropout rates and the state does not bother to audit the local reports or sanction districts or counties that fail to meet minimum reporting standards.

But, as a parting shot before Gray Davis replaces its members with new appointments, the Wilsonite State Board may mandate a more accurate reporting procedure. If so, the state may finally be forced to face the truth that more than one million children per year fail to graduate high school in California. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

effort came to nothing as the state Party failed to adopt the Committee's recommendations.)

IN THE meantime, the Prolife Council's ostensible opposition — unprecedented since the 1986 campaign to oust Rose Bird — although unable to mount a serious effort against the justices (Associated Press reported that "Citizens for Judicial Integrity," the organization prolifers established to oppose George and Chin, raised less than $30,000, compared to $1.5 million raised by justices), still motivated liberal journalists and editorial boards to feverish defenses of "judicial independence." It also allowed George, Chin, and other judges to raise significant campaign war chests to finance ads and slate mailers and apparently caused the public to pay attention to the judicial races, all without the benefit of a meaningful opposition campaign. The result? George improved his tepid 1994 showing by almost 20 points, and two of the Court of Appeal judges the California Republican Party committee recommended be opposed — Vaino Spencer and Earl Johnson — outpolled colleagues who faced *no opposition* (although Stanley Mosk and Edward Wallin seemed to exhibit slightly depressed levels of support, as did Ming Chin).

What does all this mean? The optimistic answer is that the less-than-halfhearted opposition to George and Chin backfired, serving to mobilize their liberal defenders and produce a "mandate" for judicial activism. The adage about aiming carefully if shooting at the king is also true for judges (the modern equivalent of royalty). I stated the *pessimistic* answer here two years ago: "[T]he ultimate answer lies in a debauched and increasingly amoral electorate that is indifferent to matters of ethics, morality, or even — judging from the supine response to recent judicial usurpations ... — democratic self-government." ("Are We There Yet?," January/February 1997.) In other words, things are going downhill.

Governor Pete Wilson, who has taken a lot of abuse from conservatives in recent years, is looking better and

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By WILLIAM E. SARACINO

Here are some further facts for your arsenal when next you are confronted with a foaming-at-the-mouth gun control advocate.

Be forewarned, they don't like facts. They'd rather rely on the "but if only *one* life is saved it will be worth it" emotion that turns logic and rational thought on its head.

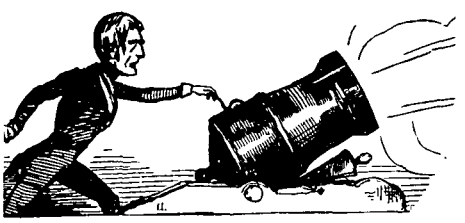
One year ago the government of Australia passed a draconian gun control measure, requiring gun owners to surrender virtually all personal firearms. The results of the first year are in, and they are not a pretty sight.

* Homicides are up 3.2 percent;

* Assaults are up 8.6 percent;

* Armed robberies are up 44 percent — yes, you read that correctly, *fourty-four percent;*

* There has been a dramatic increase in assaults aimed at the elderly.



At the time that the ban was being enacted, the Australian Prime Minister said "self-defense is not a legitimate reason to own firearms." Australian advocates of gun control have taken the position that the gun ban "needs more time" to take effect, and that the public needs to "Wait Awhile Longer To Be Safe." (*Sydney Morning Herald,* October 28, 1998). In the meantime, the murder rate continues to climb.

Any free society — even Australia — is safer as a whole when free citizens are allowed to defend themselves, their families, and their communities. CPR

William E. Saracino is executive director of Gunowners of California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

better in hindsight. His second-term record was quite good, and some of his accomplishments — appointing Janice Brown to the Supreme Court and vetoing the State Bar's dues bill — were extraordinary. (Plus, as Wilson has boasted, he likely could have beaten Gray Davis.) Robert Puglia, presiding justice of the Third District Court of Appeal, whom this correspondent predicted would be Governor Dan Lungren's first pick to the California Supreme Court, announced his retirement following the election so that Wilson could choose his successor. Wilson appointed his cerebral (and very conservative) Legal Affairs Secretary, Dan Kolkey, to replace Puglia. Kolkey, an expert in "political law," will be ideal for the Third District, where many such important cases are decided.

The misguided legislation that sought to hinder the Commission on Judicial Performance's discipline of judges, S.B. 1623 and A.B. 1110, discussed here in "Saving Tony Kline" (Sept./Oct.), was vetoed by Governor Pete Wilson (along with an avalanche of similarly misguided bills) on September 29, 1998, in a pair of thoughtful veto messages. Needless to say, with both the Legislature and the executive branch firmly in the hands of liberal Democrats, we are not likely to see many veto messages in the next four years.

THE STATE Bar, gamely continuing to fight for survival despite a year's worth of political setbacks (see my column "The Empire Strikes Back," *CPR*, November/December 1998), will likely be one of the earliest beneficiaries of Gray Davis' landslide election. Expect Davis to sign any bill the Bar can get through the Legislature. (The Bar obtained short-term funding from the state Supreme Court over Governor Wilson's strenuous objections. Showing who his real friends are, George brusquely rejected Wilson's legal arguments, delivered by Dan Kolkey, at a November 9 Supreme Court hearing.) Confirming my "Empire Strikes Back" assessment that the elected members of the Bar's board of governors are chosen "by [a] handful of activists among the Bar's membership," November's *California Bar Journal*, the organization's official publication, reported that "less than 10 percent of the eligible voters ... cast votes, compared with the usual 25-30 percent" in the most recent board of governors election. How can any organization expect to be taken seriously by the public or the Legislature if more than 90 percent of its own members treat it as a joke? (One of the newly-elected members of the Bar's "mainstream" board of governors is Ron Albers, a public defender and gay rights activist from San Francisco.)

Another early beneficiary of Gray Davis' election will be Tony Kline, the embattled Court of Appeal judge facing a disciplinary proceeding by the Commission on Judicial Performance due to his willful refusal to follow a controlling Supreme Court precedent. (See my "Saving Tony Kline," *CPR*, September/October.) Five members of the 11-member CJP will be subject to replacement in February, including the current chairman, Robert Bonner, a Wilson appointee. Davis will fill two of the slots, Democrat legislative leaders will fill two, and the Supreme Court will fill the remaining slot and a vacancy. A new majority could decide to excuse Kline's brazen defiance. Davis and Kline served together as aides for Governor Jerry Brown, whose erratic tenure California voters apparently do not remember. The CJP appointments will be an early litmus test of Davis' claim that he is a "moderate." If the CJP is packed with Kline allies and he gets off the hook, that claim will be exposed as a hoax.

MORE IMMEDIATE opportunities for Davis to show his true colors: Several Court of Appeal judges have announced their retirement, effective after Davis is sworn in. How independent is Davis from the trial lawyers (who invested more than $3 million to elect him), the radical left of the state Democrat party (Sheila Kuehl, Carole Migden) and other liberal special interest lobbies? His first judicial appointments will be a good sign.

Finally, on November 16, convicted murderer Jaturun Siripongs beat his appointment with death by getting a federal judge (appointed by Bill Clinton, of course) to grant a last-minute stay of his execution. The killer's unprecedented legal theory, sympathetically described by the liberal *San Francisco Recorder* as the "sandbagging of the year," is that Governor Pete Wilson denied him due process by unfairly refusing him clemency, a wholly discretionary act. Siripongs, who brutally murdered two people in a 1981 robbery, was convicted and sentenced to death 15 years ago. So why is he still alive? Frivolous appeals. Represented by "pro bono" legal counsel, he has unsuccessfully appealed his case to the California Supreme Court and then to the Ninth Circuit (twice). His latest stunt will delay his death sentence long enough for Governor Gray Davis to reconsider clemency soon after he takes office. Was Gray Davis telling the truth when he said he was tough on crime? If so, he will swiftly send Jaturun Siripongs to meet his Maker.

Stay tuned, and buckle those seat belts. It's going to be a bumpy ride. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Majorities, Minorities, & Intellectual Heritage*

Universities cannot fulfill their mission through the crude, adolescent process of counting ethnic noses.

WILLIAM R. ALLEN

PEOPLE, IN contrast to dogs, are hardly fit companions. Living together civilly and productively in a world of scarcity is delicate, at best, and it is complicated by ethnic differences. Minimal good will is necessary, but it is not sufficient: Some degree of comprehension of, and agreement on, certain psychological, sociological, and professional fundamentals also is required.

A few years ago, a writer of Mexican background wrote a poignant newspaper essay concerning the plight of racial and national minorities on university campuses. "For generations," he suggested, "the university accepted scholarship students with the expectation that they would become different from their parents." Indeed, the proper point of educational experience for

**CPR's November/December issue went to press with an incorrect version of page 9. This mistake, most sadly, eliminated most of that issue's regular "Midnight Economist" column, leaving only its opening few sentences intact. The full original column appears here, with minor additions made by Dr. Allen.*

William R. Allen, from his vantage point in the UCLA economics department, is confident that campus "diversity" is much more a consequence than a cause of institutional academic excellence.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

anyone is to become different from what he otherwise would have been. The individual, even while retaining and cultivating his individuality, is to be introduced to a heritage, and initiated into a community, broader than national demarcations and racial distinctions.

But in the late 1960s, much of the university establishment — both administrators and faculty — with belligerent stupidity, ignored or denied the academic heritage of the common pursuit of the individual life of the mind, and threw the academic community into confusion. "... the university began accepting the minority student," recalled the essayist, "on the assumption that he was somehow still connected with his past; my presence would represent disadvantaged Latinos to the academic community. The logic of affirmative action made each minority student a beneficiary of the disadvantaged condition of others outside the campus. Their defeat justified my advantage and advancement."

Now, years later, the fun of fraternizing with romanticized barrio and ghetto delegations has largely evaporated. It has been replaced, we are told, with "resentment of minority-student privilege." Both then and now, minority students had reason to believe that they were *in* the academy by special dispensation — given sometimes readily and sometimes grudgingly — but were not fully accepted as *of* the academy.

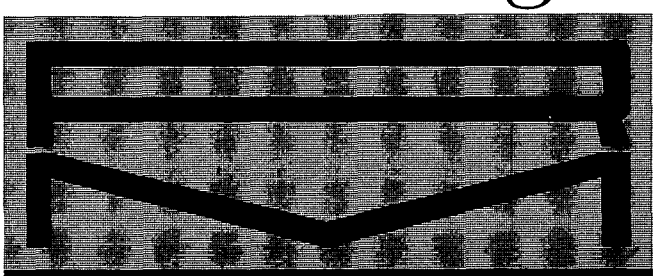
With controlling emphases on irrelevancies of personal appearance and circumstance, unsophisticated social engineering thus generated the least promising of worlds: Educational opportunity of the favored few created cultural fissures between them and their families and home communities while they were not unequivocally accepted into their new academic world. The consequences, inevitably, have been uncertainty, misunderstanding, alienation, resentment, and waste.

People — pink, black, brown, yellow, bronze, or polka-dot — are to be on the campus only because they have legitimate business there. They are blessed with those innate and acquired qualities and characteristics which will enable them to absorb, and then contribute to, the shared intellectual and professional legacy. But the discovery, acceptance, and cultivation of the qualified few cannot be accomplished by the crude, adolescent process of counting ethnic noses in order to satisfy politically decreed quotas and thereby attain "diversity" simply for the sake of diversity.

Minorities are not to be on campus either to amuse the majority or to assuage warm feelings of majority guilt for historical transgressions. And those minorities who are rightly on the campus, having warranted their opportunity, are to be neither romanticized nor resented. CPR

Artistry in word & image * Artistry in word & image * Artistry in word & image * Artistry in word & image * Artistry in word & image * Artistry in word & image * Artistry in word & image * Artistry in word & image * Artistry in word & image * Artistry in word & image * Artistry in word & image * Artistry in word & image

Richard Morgan



Logo & Letterhead Design
Page-layout
Photo montage & editing
Brochures
Copywriting
Illustration

714-848-9123
covenantltd@earthlink.net
http://home.earthlink.net
/~covenantltd/

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Techies Buck the Establishment on Schools

Silicon Valley — thought to be a Clinton-Gore Bastion — Breaks Ranks on Critical Education Issues

TIM W. FERGUSON

VARIED ELEMENTS of the press caught on to recent outbreaks of anti-establishment thinking about schools in Silicon Valley, but California scribes have been slow to put the activity into a larger and more intriguing political context. To wit, this supposed bastion of support for Democrats of the Clinton-Gore stripe is decidedly antagonistic to the party line on this Issue One, a line that comes straight out of the National Education Association's headquarters. Maybe, just maybe, this is a wedge for separating AlGore from a precious funding base.

First out of the box, recall, was software guy Ron Unz with his bilingual Proposition. He was acting solo, but the techies surely gave no aid and comfort to the "227" opposition. Then the Technology Network, a consortium of largely apolitical executives, got behind an initiative drive to lift the cap on charter schools, which the NEA affiliate had kept on. The Legislature backed down in the face of such a ballot measure. Not everything the Network favors is anathema to the unions (it wants to lower the two-thirds threshold for approving local school bonds, for example) and its leader, Reed Hastings, is open to deals with the entrenched interests. But within the group are individuals like Floyd Kvamme of the Kleiner Perkins venture-capital firm, who are fiery champions of choice and competition in schools.

Not to be outdone in that cause is Tim Draper, another venture capitalist (based in Redwood City) who is funding a "cyberinitiative" to draw up and then qualify a March 2000 "choice" ballot measure, improving on the Proposition 174 attempt a few years back. Draper's probably naive and a little full of himself, but his commitment appears real and his on-line solicitation is a novelty with a populist flavor. At the very least he will preoccupy the teacher unions.

Additionally, California saw the political awakening of a new David Packard — the magnate's son, David W., who coughed up $500,000 for the ill-fated Gloria Tuchman campaign and made no bones about his distaste for incumbent superintendent Delaine Eastin. Previously, Packard had confined himself to volunteer work to improve reading programs.

Put all of these omens together and you have a major story possibly in the making. Newspaper readers might look forward to the parts becoming the whole in 1999.

Gray Davis, facing a tight budget, talks up the idea of inexpensive fixes for the public schools, such as higher standards and more testing. You might think this is apple pie stuff, but take a look at what happened when Lisa Keegan, Arizona's superintendent of schools, tried to enforce a test-passing requirement for high school graduation. According to a front-page item in the *Scottsdale Tribune*, Keegan was accosted at a meeting by loudmouth parents who objected to having their kids be required to clear such a hurdle. "Not everyone is going to be an engineer!" one shouted. Gray might think he has just the CTA to mollify. But Mom and Dad (if there is one) are

Tim W. Ferguson is California Political Review's *press critic.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other big parts of California's (and the nation's) learning problem, and they are just as much in denial.

♣ ♣ ♣

The endorsement of Proposition 1A by the California Taxpayers Association permitted the *Los Angeles Times* to describe the $9.2 billion school-bond tax measure on Page One as being backed by "taxpayer groups." Outside of Tom McClintock and — give him credit — Curt Pringle, true taxpayer voices were few and far between on that lollapalooza. On the subject of "rebuilding schools," how about an accounting of how many California public high schools have swimming pools (it would take some, er, digging — no one seems to tabulate this) vs. how many in other states that spend less and get higher test scores? The guess here is that no one treads water like California.

♣ ♣ ♣

You probably saw those feminist-realist ads reading "Women Count" and urging the girls to turn out. One hopes the newspapers didn't print them free as a "public service." The *San Francisco Examiner* called the sponsoring group nonpartisan, but noted that Esprit Corp.'s Susie Tompkins Buell, who "spearheaded" the effort, was one of the top 10 California donors to the Democrat Party in 1996. The GOP's Mike Madrid said it was just a push to get Barbara Boxer re-elected. Worked pretty well.

♣ ♣ ♣

The GOP's Madrid made the curious point to the *LA Times's* George Skelton that Latinos are turned off because the party isn't strong enough for gun controls. He should have been asked for some poll data on that. But Skelton was busy lecturing Republicans for being "toadies for the gun lobby" in the course of a column contending the election showed the "GOP Needs Some New [ethnic] Republicans." Fact is, a lot of candidates would like to avoid gun issues but the NRA types just can't let well enough alone, helping Democrats raise the issue in contested races.

♣ ♣ ♣

The *Examiner's* Erin McCormick analyzed how term limits has prompted the interest-group PACs to pump funds into non-incumbents, often from their own affinity groups: dentists backing a dentist, for example. The usual suspects — Common Cause and Sherry Bebitch Jeffe — offered as how this amounted to buying seats, as opposed (the article suggested) to the good old days when lobbyists merely courted a seasoned legislator out of hopes he "would understand and give some credence to their point of view." Pity the poor careerist who now not only has to move along after a few terms, but has to share the Third House's money with rookies! The funding trend would appear just to bring constituency politics out in the open, and as Kim Alexander of the California Voter Foundation pointed out, the public is capable of sniffing out something as obvious as that.

The *Orange County Register*, meanwhile, surveyed the makeup of the new Legislature and found that term limits had broadened representation in most respects. However, the Assembly elected in 1998 has fewer blacks, is older, and is fuller of local-government types than the one chosen in 1990.

♣ ♣ ♣

The *LA Times* noted on the front page that the Central Valley continues to lag the rest of the state's recovery, with double-digit unemployment in several counties. The paper did *not* go on to editorialize that this ought to caution emboldened Capitol liberals who think they can get away with strict wage and workplace regulations statewide. Maybe they can do so along the coast without damaging the economy much, but in the Valley, which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

competes with low-cost regions of the United States, such policies promise more misery ahead.

♣ ♣ ♣

One of UC Irvine's early Democrat gifts to Orange County, management professor Judy Rosener, had these kind words for the state's pusillanimous corporate lobbies in the *Los Angeles Business Journal*: "...the line between pro-business Republicans and pro-government Democrats is blurring .... This year, the California Manufacturers Association hosted high-priced political fund raisers honoring Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa and Senate President pro-Tempore John Burton, liberal Democrats who in decades past would never have been recipients of business largess [of course, the money goes straight to electing other Dems who keep them in power]. In a number of state legislative races, the California Chamber of Commerce was less than enthusiastic in its support of Republican candidates who ran against pro-business [as opposed to pro-market] Democrats in safe districts. This made Republican business people fume."

♣ ♣ ♣

Matthew Shepard's savage slaying in Wyoming was widely linked to conservative opponents of gay rights and homosexual activity, with San Francisco media taking the lead. Elaine Herscher's *Chronicle* "news analysis" lead said the killing came "at a time of growing rhetoric and violence against gays." Among the statistics cited to back that up was a "study released earlier this year by the University of Washington [in which] one in 10 community college students admitted to committing a hate crime against gays." How about defining the term, for starters?

♣ ♣ ♣

There was little press (except for a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed) about homosexual pressure groups trying and nearly succeeding in depriving the Claremont Institute of hotel meeting space in Los Angeles for a conference to challenge the idea of a "gay gene and related political matters." The Beverly Hilton cancelled the reserved space and the pinkshirts then allegedly tried to disrupt the proceedings when they were moved to the Biltmore.

♣ ♣ ♣

The *WSJ/California* section continues dutifully to report on bureaucratic power plays the press usually ignores as too "inside." As part of the takeover of Pacific Bell by what used to be Southwest Bell, the Public Utilities Commission forced a $50 million handover to groups that ostensibly aim to see that phone tones reach everybody in the state. The Universal Service Alliance argues that digital-data connection is "the civil-rights issue of the 21st Century." The money pot will be administered by the Community Technology Foundation of California, chaired by ex-Assemblywoman Gwen Moore, who also runs African Americans for Telecommunications Equity. The first batch of grants, up to $15,000, will go to form focus groups to determine needs. The *Journal* skipped the translation, but you can read between the lines: this is a gravy train for the advocacy sector.

♣ ♣ ♣

Kudos to Dan Walters for a *Sacramento Bee* column on the abuse of redevelopment law to have taxpayers subsidize mall upgradings such as the one in oh-so-conservative Mission Viejo. Policy wonks understand how this 30-year-old legislation is chronically misused, but there is only a ragtag constituency of property owners around the state disposed to fight it. Meanwhile, most Californians blithely patronize the stores — Nordstrom particularly — that tap into the corporate welfare.

♣ ♣ ♣

"Willie Brown Shows How Not to Run a City" is the title of a dissection of the press-pampered mayor by the *City Journal* (Autumn 1998). Co-author is Matt Robinson, among a coterie of conservatives or libertarians employed by *Investor's Business Daily*. The quarterly focuses, as its name suggests, on urban issues, and is published by the Manhattan Institute. That "think tank" has managed to get traction in policymaking n its very liberal hometown, something its California counterparts haven't. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WASHINGTON LETTER

by Leon E. McKinney

California Congressional Delegation Report

Cox Says Panel Found 'Harm' to U.S. National Security

Two U.S. satellite companies with close ties to the president and the Democratic National Committee accused of giving information that helped improve Chinese ICBMs.

Yet another bombshell burst on **Bill Clinton** at a December 30 **Washington D.C.** news conference when **California** Representative **Chris Cox** (R-Newport Beach) said two U.S. satellite companies with close ties to the president and the **Democratic National Committee** (DNC) had engaged in activities that Cox said harmed American national security.

This latest Clinton scandal began to explode last June with the disclosure of a **Justice Department** investigation into whether the satellite companies, **Hughes Electronics** and **Loral Space & Communications**, violated export-control laws in dealings with **communist China.** The charges arose from reports the companies prepared to help China's dictators learn why two of their launch vehicles failed: the first report, prepared by Hughes Electronics, analyzed a 1995 crash that destroyed an **Apstar 2** satellite carried atop a Chinese **Long March 2E** launch vehicle; the second report, from Loral, analyzed a 1996 crash of a Chinese **Long March 3B** rocket at the **Xichang Satellite Launch Center** in China.

Hughes and Loral were accused of giving information to the Chinese that helped them improve the reliability of their ICBMs. The Clinton connection was that Hughes and Loral were (and still are) among the largest corporate contributors to the 1992 and 1996 **Clinton-Gore campaigns** and the DNC. Loral Chairman **Bernard Schwartz'** personal contributions of more than $1 million during the 1996 election cycle made him the Democrats' biggest individual donor. At the same time, Clinton was changing long-standing export-control policies to the benefit of Loral. The **House of Representatives** formed a select panel, headed up by Representative Cox, to look into things.

At his December 30 news conference, Cox announced that the panel had concluded its investigation. Cox said the panel had held 22 investigative hearings, took more than 200 hours of testimony from more than 75 witnesses, conducted more than 700 hours of interviews and depositions from more than 150 people, and issued 21 subpoenas.

The panel's 700-page, five-volume report is classified, and few details have leaked out. The panel's five Republicans and four Democrats unanimously approved the report, and made 38 recommendations to tighten controls over exports to China, to be presented to **Congress** and the **White House.** A declassified version could be available within weeks.

But Cox made sure we wouldn't have to wait until then for the most important finding when he said

---

California Political Review *Contributing Editor Leon E. McKinney is an engineering consultant in St. Louis, Missouri.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that, "based on unclassified information, I can tell you today that we have found that national security harm did occur."

Loral, of course, said in a reaction statement that "we remain convinced that we did not violate the law and did nothing to harm national security." Loral's submission to the Cox panel said "we believe we demonstrated that any material exchanged with the Chinese was from open sources, readily available in standard engineering text books." And Hughes "respects the concerns of those in the national security community and in the Congress, and we intend to work together in addressing those concerns." However, "Hughes believes it has fully complied with the law and acted in accordance with the guidance of the executive branch agencies with jurisdiction over satellite licensing and export control matters and is unaware of any evidence to the contrary."

But judging from information already made public about Loral's doings, the claims of innocence ring hollow. In July 1996, a panel of outside security advisers brought in by Loral told Loral executives the company shouldn't help the Chinese review the cause of the 1996 Long March launch vehicle crash. Unless the **State Department** issued a special license, they told Loral, any such assistance would violate U.S. laws on protecting classified data. But 11 days after receiving this advice, Loral convened a two-day meeting of rocket specialists in **Palo Alto** to do just what the security advisers said they should not do: assist the Chinese, without the State Department license. The DOJ's investigation, and that of the Cox panel, looked at the Palo Alto meeting and a follow-on meeting the next week in **Beijing** of Loral's rocket experts with representatives of the Chinese dictatorship.

Loral then went ahead and prepared an analysis of the crash but did not send it to the State Department until a Loral executive learned of the report and raised the alarm. Even then, before the report was sent to State, the Loral employee heading the review team, who just happens to be a Chinese national, faxed the report to China.

An **Air Force Intelligence Center** review of the Loral report concluded that classified technical information had indeed been transferred, and in May 1997 forwarded that conclusion to the Justice Department, which began a preliminary investigation, issuing its first subpoena to Loral in February last year.

I testified to the **House Science Committee** last June after reviewing just the publicly available unclassified information. Based on 16 years of experience in aerospace vehicle design, I said it was inconceivable that Loral engineers and managers weren't aware they were transferring sensitive military technology. I added that anyone who has worked in aerospace would know that Loral's excuses for the review team's security violations were not believable. (Among other "mistakes," they held hours-long technical discussions among themselves in unsecured hotel rooms.)

As for Hughes, **Commerce Department Undersecretary William Reinsch** admitted to a **Senate** panel last July that the State Department should also have licensed the Hughes-prepared 1995 report on the failure of the Chinese rocket carrying the Apstar 2 satellite before that report was turned over to the Chinese. Oops.

Loral's Bernard Schwartz says, "If anything occurred here, it was an honest, low-level mistake." The Chinese, he says, weren't given any information that violated export regulations or damaged national security. Meanwhile, he remains the Democrat Party's biggest individual donor, having given more than $400,000 to the Democrats last year. He's wise to keep stoking the Clinton money machine. It's plain that Loral — and Schwartz — could be in big trouble. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Post-Lungren Trauma

by Arnold Steinberg

Can the GOP learn from a brain dead campaign?

A few days after his funeral, former Los Angeles County Sheriff Sherman Block received 39 percent of the vote. "Have you ever worked for a dead candidate?" one reporter had asked me. "For many," I said, pausing to his astonishment, "... Republicans." Still, it was painful to watch Dan Lungren's moribund 30-million dollar campaign in California.

Consider Los Angeles County, which has a quarter of the state's voters. Sheriff Block, 74, in his grave, running for re-election there, ran 86,000 votes ahead of Lungren, 52.

Can we learn from a brain dead campaign? Party conservatives say Lungren favored "pale pastels" over Ronald Reagan's bold colors. Party pragmatists say Lungren's prolife position doomed him. Both sides agree Republican campaigns in California are even more incompetent than elsewhere. Whatever happened, the "Lungren effect" helped re-elect Boxer, cost the Republicans nearly every statewide office, and resulted in a five-seat loss in the state Assembly.

The problem starts in Washington. Republicans in Congress believed the Contract for America (which was a plus) was entirely responsible for their ascendancy in 1994. They mistook political reaction (against Clinton) for philosophical change. That same year, they thought Pete Wilson won the election in California. His opponent, Kathleen Brown, who changed her theme and slogan about every 10 days, had lost it. In 1994, the Wilson campaign went beyond supporting Proposition 187, which limited public funds for illegal immigrants, with needlessly inflammatory ("they just keep coming") television spots. Enter 1996, when the national Party poured many millions into Dole's campaign here, even in the closing weeks, when his considerable loss was certain. Their churning actually increased Democrat turnout, while the state Party's diversion of funds from legislative races cost the Republicans control of the Assembly.

Of course, an early and principled embrace of the anti-preference Proposition 209 would have helped Republicans. Instead the Party's clumsy last-minute exploitation of the measure, tying it to a suspect Proposition

---

Arnold Steinberg is a California-based political strategist who has been active in every phase of politics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

187 and an unpopular Dole, not only hurt Republican candidates but also cut 10 points from 209's landslide. And now, this year, in the June primary, Republicans hastily nationalized Pete Wilson's Proposition 226 ("paycheck protection") but never explained it to California voters. Its 50 point lead (!) predictably evaporated. Its collapse provided unions with a $25 million primary election exercise in voter turnout, to prepare them for defeating Republicans in November.

In Washington, success had made Republicans act like Democrats. Out of power so long, they rejoiced in the spoils of victory. Instead of challenging corporate welfare, they became part of it. In the process, they denied themselves the populist appeal that Republicans need. In the worst of both worlds, press coverage savaged Republicans for doing things that were never done (like eliminating the National Endowment for the Arts). Voters awarded Gingrich high negatives for talking like a right wing ideologue. But his actions left conservatives restless. Remarkably, Gingrich disappointed conservatives *and* alienated moderates.

Here in California, Clinton seemed to get credit for the accomplishments of a Republican Congress. Given the caricature of Gingrich, Gray Davis spent millions of dollars on television spots that proclaimed "Lungren's record in Congress is to the right of Newt Gingrich." In contrast, California Congressmen David Dreier, Chris Cox, and Jim Rogan all have a moderate temperament and an appealing personality. With an engaging television presence, they could reach beyond a conservative base. But with Republican control of the House, these potential candidates passed up the chance to run for U.S. senator or governor. (Ironically, Rogan nearly lost in his own district due to the Lungren effect.)

A long time ago I helped elect Jim Buckley to the United States Senate. Like Dreier, Cox, and Rogan, he impressed voters as someone seeking a common ground among people of good will. He was endorsed by newspapers that publicly disagreed with him on the issues but found him a charming man who was willing to listen. Leftist Tony Lewis wrote a gushing column in the *New York Times* saying Jim would be a gentleman senator. The thoughtful Buckley won a stunning victory in a three-way race. (Studies showed that Buckley also would have won a two-way race). People will vote for a nice guy.

Dan Lungren is a decent man with many virtues. Humility is not one of them. When Gray Davis spoke about issues, Dan Lungren spoke about himself. Lungren, like many conservative candidates who are not simply confident, but assured, could talk with a moral certainty that offends. These candidates speak of family values in a way that seems to make single and divorced people, widows and widowers, a little uncomfortable. They appear to espouse moral values in a way that makes people tremble at an expansion of state power. For all the press hype against social issues, it may be as much a matter of style as substance. Consider Orange County, the once proud bastion of Republicanism. Here Bob Dornan cost the Party two state legislative seats that overlapped the stolen Congressional seat he sought to regain in a suicidal campaign.

Dan Lungren is a decent man with many virtues. Humility is not one of them. When Gray Davis spoke about issues, Dan Lungren spoke about himself.

The abortion issue gets a bum rap. America is moving slowly, very slowly, toward a prolife position. But it's not there yet. So, it's easier to sell pro-choice to an electorate that would rather not talk about the issue at all. But electoral success requires Republicans to satisfy, but still go beyond, Christian conservatives. Pro-choice voters say (in exit polls) abortion is the reason they vote against a Republican. But if they like a prolife Republican, abortion is not an issue to them. Lungren thought he could defuse his prolife position by saying he was a Catholic. In a 40-second script, in a 30-second spot, entirely devoted to abortion, parental consent was lost in Lungren's frenetic delivery. Abortion became politics, and nothing more. Saying that abortion is not as important as other issues, he then alienated pro-choice and prolife voters.

U.S. Senate nominee Matt Fong, closer to the pro-choice position, still lost. In the process, he also upset everyone on a social issue. He gave $50,000 to Lou Sheldon's anti-homosexuality crusade, then signed a "gay rights" pledge. He wondered why he looked stupid. An accidental nominee, Fong was solid on defense issues. He had the easiest job in the country: run-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ning against Barbara Boxer, who has never been photographed with her mouth closed. But Fong wanted to be liked. Properly skeptical of stridently negative campaigning, Fong became a conscientious objector even to "contrast" advertising that would highlight his differences with Boxer. He never engaged her on issues until the closing days. By then, he was defined by brilliantly somber ads, which he countered with a spot featuring his mother. Fong properly complains the Republican Party did not adequately fund him, but would it have mattered? (Other statewide candidates and key legislative races also needed money, because the Party favored Lungren, like Dole two years earlier, despite each man's ineffectual campaign.)

Meanwhile, Lungren continued to run for attorney general. Unfortunately, he was listed on the ballot as running for governor. He told everyone that crime was way down, but he still wanted to talk about it. By the time he started talking about education, it made no difference. Like other Republican candidates, Lungren obsessed about vouchers, when he needed to talk about school choice. Our side needs an off-year major advertising effort by public policy foundations to explain how school choice will help improve public education. Otherwise, at election time, our candidates, in California and elsewhere, play defense. It's another case of Republicans believing they are right on the issues; *ergo*, they should win. But our candidates cannot educate in the closing weeks of a campaign.

Which brings us back to strategy. For Republicans who cannot separate their moral outrage from public policy, political analysis is held hostage. Republicans in Washington believed Monica should be an issue, so they would make her an issue. Republican beltway consultants didn't care that this approach might backfire (even though, as I mentioned earlier, their 1996 California Dole ads actually increased Democrat turnout, costing Republicans control of the Assembly). This time, they would make their commissions on Clinton scandal ads that motivated Democrats more than Republicans. And in California, his own team defined Lungren very early with a preachy ad on character. The character issue put Lungren on auto pilot to defeat. He would never recover. Indeed, his hard sell made him unconvincing as the state's next chief executive. Of course, no one admits to directing Lungren in the commercials, which lost him votes.

What about turnout? How could Republican "strategists" not realize there would be no Republican bump due to Monica? How could they not see that Democrats, especially black voters, were circling the wagons to protect Clinton? A sure sign of trouble is when every published poll shows consistent double digit leads for Davis, and Lungren's people attack "liberal" pollsters. The California Republican Party boasts that it spent $12 million on surveys, focus groups, television and radio advertising, telephone banks, and on eighteen million pieces of mail. Presumably, without all this, only 79 Republicans would have voted in California. The truth is the character issue flopped nationally. And in California, Lungren used it early and often.

The abortion issue gets a bum rap. Pro-choice voters say (in exit polls) abortion is the reason they vote against a Republican. But if they like a prolife Republican, abortion is not an issue to them.

Will the California results predict the future? Lungren is 52 years old. He did least poorly among voters older than he is. But among voters younger than he, he was absolutely trounced. It's the "vision thing." Education. With female voters, it's something more. Style. Women look for a softer sell. They prefer a listener, not a talker. Talk about capital gains cuts all you want, but be sensitive. Even more than men, women want someone who can, as Lyndon Johnson once said, "bring us together." In Dick Riordan's runoff campaign for mayor in 1993, a black primary opponent, Stan Sanders endorsed him. Result? No black votes, but plenty of Jewish votes. The lesson: when you reach out to one minority, you get others, and whites.

Even more than Reagan Democrats and mainstream Republicans, independent voters do not want ideology. Law and order? Republicans struggle with the definition of assault weapons, while law enforcement unions endorse moderate Democrats who promise cops more money. Latinos? Lungren's opposition to Proposition 227, the measure to end bilingual education, only

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

confused his own base, with no gain among Latinos, for whom it was socially unacceptable to vote for a man endorsed by Wilson. Latino voters will support a friendly Democrat wrong on social issues over a more *simpatico* Republican. Like the Irish Catholics once drawn to the Democrats, Latino Catholics are drawn to a Party that includes them. Latino Republican legislators just elected can be powerful symbols.

The debacle in California may not be unique if Democrats repeat the formula elsewhere. The Party's left allows the nomination of a law-and-order Democrat who says his priority is education. He plays footsie with big business that wants a winner. Republicans? Lacking a strategy, they obsess with trivia. Like defending secondhand smoke while opposing marijuana for cancer patients. That's a winner. CPR

'Vote Republican because ... uhm ... err ... well ....'

CPR 's panel of *independent** experts sorts through the electoral disaster.

WILLIAM E. SARACINO

Old sayings and adages — though sometimes irritating — are often also true. The 1998 elections speak to the truth in the old saying that you can't beat somebody with nobody; and you can't beat something with nothing. Nobody and nothing is exactly what the national Republican leadership offered the American people as a reason to vote Republican. Other than the hard core Clinton haters who were going to vote for us anyway, the national GOP message was "Vote Republican because ... uhm ... err ... well ... vote Republican because we say so." That the voters rejected this non-message is actually a tribute to their intelligence. It is also indicative of how ideologically sterile and tactically tentative the leaders of the 1994 revolution had become by the fall of 1998.

The media has spent much time harrumphing amongst themselves that the election results represent a repudiation of the conservative agenda. This is silly and patently false on its face — since the conservative agenda was not presented to the voters in any organized fashion. In fact the few GOP bright spots around the electoral map — the brothers Bush; Senators Bunning and Fitzgerald in Kentucky and Illinois; Governors Thompson and Engler in Wisconsin and Michigan — represent the few places where positive conservative ideas (in addition to "throw Bubba and Evita out of the White House")

William E. Saracino is a long-time conservative activist, political consultant, and CRA member. He is currently Executive Director of Gun Owners of California.

**Legislative Republican leaders Senator Ross Johnson and Assemblyman Rod Pacheco were invited to participate in this discussion, but were precluded by deadline constraints from doing so. Thus, the panel consists exclusively of experts with no direct stake (as candidates for any office) in this election's outcome.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were presented in various ways to the voters. As they always do, voters responded positively to our core conservative ideas when they were presented in positive and interesting ways. As ol' Willie Shakespeare had Cassius say to Brutus, the fault lies not in our stars, but in ourselves. Our nominees and leaders forgot Ronald Reagan's banner of "bold colors" and opted for the "pale pastels" of moderation to get us through on the historical tide of sixth year defeats for the incumbent White House Party. Such a result was not in the stars.

Here in California the Lungren campaign was a case of suicide. As nice as the people who ran that campaign are, there wasn't a seasoned political warhorse among them. By that I mean someone who had gone up against the best and the brightest that the Democrats have. Because of this, Lungren was out-maneuvered almost daily during the critical last three weeks of the election, a time when most voters solidified their choice. The result was sadly predictable. We sent the political equivalent of our junior league board of directors into the Oakland Raiders locker room and expected them to emerge on the other side without a hair out of place. The resulting unsightly carnage should not have surprised anyone.

That's the past now — what of tomorrow? One of the few advantages of getting older is the perspective it provides. My first political campaign was the 1964 Goldwater for president effort, which received all of 34 percent of the vote in California. As I tell friends of mine, when *that* is your first election night, things never, ever get any worse.

However, I still carry lessons from that debacle. The main one being that the press and the moderate Republicans are always wrong in their postmortems. Literally *every two years* since 1964 I have heard exactly the same thing. "So and so" was just too conservative to win. That's when the GOP loses. When the GOP wins, it is "well, the victory would have been much more sweeping if the right-wingers had just shut up." It never fails. These people said Barry Goldwater had destroyed the Republican Party as a viable institution and had single-handedly killed the two-party system. They really said that! These same people — the forebears of our John Jacobs, George Skeltons, and Tony Quinns — said it was pure idiocy and suicide to nominate Ronald Reagan for governor. All the "realists" in the GOP knew Reagan would be annihilated by Pat Brown. All the "realists" in the GOP knew San Francisco Mayor George Christopher was the *only* Republican with a chance of getting elected. On and on it went — and on and on it goes, every two years like clockwork. When Senator-elect Fitzgerald won his primary in Illinois, these Cassandras moaned that we had just re-elected Carol Mosely Braun. The same with Jim Bunning in Tennessee. These folks never tire of being wrong and never, ever change their tune. Which is fine — unless we forget history and start to believe them!

The *only* campaign where guns were a major factor saw pro-Second Amendment *Democrat* Joe Baca defeat GOP nominee Eunice Ulloa. Sarah Brady even mailed against Baca. Baca got 60 percent.

Your hear now that the issues of guns and abortion killed the GOP. Lungren botched the abortion issue sadly, and neither he nor anyone else on the statewide ticket engaged on the gun issue. In fact, the *only* legislative campaign where guns were a major factor saw pro-Second Amendment *Democrat* Joe Baca defeat GOP nominee Eunice Ulloa for a Senate seat. Ulloa attacked Baca for being too close to the NRA. Sarah Brady even mailed against Baca. Baca got 60 percent of the vote. Don't look for this analysis in your local newspaper.

The conservative banner has many bold colors to it. It is up to us to be bright enough to know how to sell our philosophy as a whole to an electorate that agrees with us overwhelmingly — on the whole.

The immediate future might look dark. The next two years will bring us setbacks and defeats. Yet a new day will dawn, as surely as the previous day set. The great conservative victories of this century — 1966, 1980, and 1994 — took place for two reasons: First, because liberals let their mask slip and accidentally revealed their true selves and true plans to the American people; Second, because the conservative movement was ready for that moment with a broad-based, positive, and persuasive agenda to present as an alternative.

We can't control the timing of the next liberal meltdown. But we can be certain it will come. It's up to each of us to make sure our movement is ready to seize the moment and lead our state and country to a bright tomorrow.

TIM W. FERGUSON

It's pretty well established by now that, contrary to what we were told on Election Night, this was not a national or state election that was decided by ethnic or ra-

Tim W. Ferguson is CPR's *press correspondent.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cial minorities or by a big turnout of blue-collar unionists. The Republican Party's downfall in California, as elsewhere, resulted from middle-class to affluent whites either not voting or voting for Democrats.

Leading the defection, in an increasing drift to the left, were women. There's some evidence that the Dems' raising of abortion and gun control issues accelerated that trend. But the comfortable class was just as broadly moved by the money and skillful messages of the Iron Triangle of the now-dominant Party of California:

— Public employee unions, foremost the California Teachers Association but also including the prison guards (thanks, Pete, for building them up), the state and local police and fire unions, and the nurses (a quasi-public union).

— Command-and-control environmentalists, especially the League of Conservation Voters and the Sierra Club.

— The trial lawyers, who bankrolled much of the campaign.

You saw this threesome's handiwork in nearly every mailer and broadcast ad — and those ads, often coordinated with the state Democrat Party, were devastating.

Until such time as the GOP finds issues with which to get between these groups and the majority electorate, it will be intimidated in the governing process and beaten at the polls. It's easy to find fault with many of the Republican candidates in 1998, but it took an extraordinary personality (or one with a weak Democrat opponent) to survive in the competitive races this time. The reason is that "education," "the environment," and "consumer protection" (vs. HMOs or Big Tobacco of late) have been ceded to the Dems.

But how to reach a contented, indulgent, and largely inattentive electorate? No easy answers. Discouraging as it may be for Republicans to hear this, it may take a recession — when taxes to fund activist government hurt, when regulations really begin to scare off jobs, when a class-action attorney's greed is particularly odious — before the minority GOP can again drive a wedge between voters and the statist triumvirate behind the Democrats. Meantime, don't help feed the enemy, such as by padding "public safety" payrolls.

Energizing trade unions, especially linked as they are to Latinos in California, did Republicans no good in 1998. But while repairing relations with these two sectors will help to cushion the GOP in years ahead, it will not get to the heart of what wracked the Party in November.

The Republican downfall in California resulted from middle-class to affluent whites either not voting or voting for Democrats.

—Tim W. Ferguson

Republicans cannot passively wait for Democrats to make fatal errors. They cannot trounce Democrats by engaging in a soft-sell campaign to moderate voters without providing real issues to feed their base.

—Mary Louise Frawley

MARY LOUISE FRAWLEY

Republicans' 1998 campaign strategy seems to have been built on a prayer — that public horror over the Monica Lewinsky scandal would translate into huge GOP victories. According to this scenario, Clinton's shenanigans would so enrage conservatives — especially Christian Coalition types — that they would flock to the polls while disheartened Democrats stayed home. Meanwhile, Republicans could concentrate all their efforts on reaching out to moderate swing voters.

Back in August, when Clinton first admitted to his relationship with Lewinsky, that upbeat scenario for Republican victory seemed all but certain to play out.

In California, Republican candidates in Democrat leaning districts actually expected to win. Scandal-driven polls launched Matt Fong into a lead over Barbara Boxer in the Senate race and Dan Lungren into a standoff with Gray Davis for governor. Fong scored points attacking Boxer for being slow to condemn the president's affair, while Lungren gained plaudits for TV commercials where he announced that character was the essential quality for any candidate.

The Monica strategy was paramount to Republicans nationally. In fact, it overrode other policy decisions: According to Republican consultant Dan Shnur, it was Republican Congressional leaders' fear of a government

Mary Louise Frawley, a member of the San Fernando Valley chapter of the California Lincoln Clubs, is president of C & L Consulting, a public affairs and land use planning firm in Los Angeles County.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shutdown distracting public focus from the president's troubles that caused them to eschew battles with Clinton on the budget and such conservative mainstays as tax cuts and vouchers. In other words, Republicans put all of their eggs in the Lewinsky basket.

But the scandal ultimately failed the GOP — even with their own base. As David Puglia, Lungren's campaign manager, noted, "Republicans in California particularly shrugged their shoulders and said, 'enough, I don't want to hear about it anymore.'" At that point, the GOP was caught in a bind. With the scandal behind them, they weren't sure how to appeal to both conservative and swing voters. Dan Lungren, in particular, faltered as he struggled to summon issues that would resonate with the electorate. Law and order was supposed to be the issue Lungren used to trounce Gray Davis. But when Davis broke with Democrat tradition by supporting the death penalty and three strikes, he neutralized Lungren's advantage there.

Apart from law and order, Lungren appeared reluctant to highlight significant differences with Davis on issues — even education, which polls showed was voters' number one concern this year. Despite his longtime support for educational vouchers, Lungren only touched on the issue briefly in one campaign commercial — and then only in response to a Davis attack ad.

More often, when discussing his education goals in TV ads, Lungren echoed Pete Wilson *and* Gray Davis's remedy for reforming schools: smaller classes and more teacher training and accountability. On Proposition 227 — the anti-bilingual education initiative — Davis and Lungren were in agreement: They opposed it. As Gary South, Gray Davis's campaign manager, observed: "All of that just blurred in people's minds to saying these guys support the same thing (on education)."

Lungren's strategy of running toward the middle obviously failed. Gray Davis would not allow Lungren to run "a feel good" campaign — except when it suited his purpose.

Otherwise, Davis was on the offensive, defining Lungren's "positions" for him in an endless barrage of attack ads. He hammered Lungren on gun control particularly — and the Republican's response was muted. As a result, it was Davis's message that had staying power with voters — not Lungren's. As, Jim Brulte pointed out, "The Republican message this year, thanks to the Davis campaign, was: assault weapons, abortion, offshore oil drilling, and a little bit of tobacco."

Not a very appealing image — except for energizing Democrat voters. And, ultimately, it was Democrats — not Republicans — who succeeded in getting out their base on Election Day.

As Democrat consultant Susan Kennedy noted: "We (Democrats) never strayed from day one — women, Latinos, blacks, and union households — never strayed. And we hardly spent any time getting out of our area in a feel good campaign .... So, we were very, very focused on our constituencies, and we poured all of our resources in those areas .... I'm shocked about the thought that Lungren couldn't have done anything differently. That's just mechanics, that's just simple mechanics of talking to your base."

The lesson of this election is that Republicans cannot passively wait for Democrats to make fatal campaign errors in order to win.That will never happen. And they cannot trounce Democrats by engaging in a soft-sell campaign to moderate voters without providing real issues to feed their base.

Election exit polls showed that most voters did not approve of the president's affair with Lewinsky or his subsequent lies about it, but that disapproval did not translate into votes for Republicans. Instead, they cast ballots for candidates' stands on issues — as they understood them. And this year, Democrats defined the issues on their terms.

The groundswell of conservative support for Republicans never materialized. Why? This was essentially an issueless campaign. As Republican campaign consultant Sal Russo observed : "It was hard to find a reason for Republicans to turn out (in November) and they didn't."

GLYNN CUSTRED

One of the worst features of the Republican Party is its inability to recognize winning issues and, when one falls into its lap, its inability to deal with it properly. A glaring example is Republican handling of Proposition 209 (the California Civil Rights Initiative) in 1996. This initiative asserts the core American principles of individual rights and equality before the law which, for the vast majority of the American people, constitute the very definition of fairness and justice.

Democrats can neither support the proposition nor co-opt it. Doing so would jeopardize the racial and ethnic spoils system that forms a powerful force within the Democrat base. By vigorously opposing racial and ethnic preferences, Republicans not only could advance good policy but also solidify their own base while winning over many Democrat voters. And for a while California Re-

Proposition 209 co-author Glynn Custred is professor of Anthropology at California State University, Hayward.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

publicans looked like they might do just that. First the CRP supported 209 and helped raise money to qualify it for the ballot. Also, Governor Wilson defended the initiative by discouraging big business from contributing to the opposition.

Yet during most of the 1996 campaign season, most obviously at the GOP National Convention in San Diego, they ignored the issue. Then, at the last minute, rather than campaigning for it on principle, they tried to use the initiative as a crude wedge. The only result was to reduce 209's margin of victory from an expected 60 to 54 percent.

Racial and ethnic preferences were not an issue in the last election, yet Lungren's behavior in regard to 209 is indicative of yet another major Republican failing. Early on, ominous signs appeared of dissatisfaction with Lungren among the Republican base. One charge was that Lungren had not sufficiently supported 209, which was strongly backed by the Republican core. The charge was false. Lungren as attorney general prevented deceptive language from appearing in the voter handbook, he stopped illegal financial support of the opposition by a left-wing foundation, and he even signed the ballot argument in the voter handbook in support of the measure.

It seems prudent in a close race, where every vote counts, to shore up a flagging base. There were people available who could have helped in this effort by setting the record straight on Proposition 209. In fact I, as a co-author, volunteered. But the Lungren campaign ignored the offer. This was yet another indication that the core constituency, and the issues they care about, were of no importance to the candidate, a circumstance repeated often among Republicans nation-wide.

To win, Republicans must hold their base while winning a significant portion of the middle. Ronald Reagan did it and Republicans can still do it through defining and unifying issues. The principles of Proposition 209 form one such issue. Another is education.

Gray Davis was fortunate to run against a Party unable to identify winning issues. If he hadn't, education might have been his downfall because, in California, education is an abject failure. The people know it and want something done about it. Yet a major Democrat base constituency — the teacher's union and the educational bureaucracy — is the very source of the problem. Davis as governor must devise some smoke and mirrors semblance of reform to appease the public while also maintaining as much of the *status quo* as he can. Republicans thus have yet another chance. The bad news is that the Republican Party, a vendor-driven enterprise, is indifferent to real issues and cannot effectively use even those that land in their lap. That's why California, like Arkansas, will remain a one-party state for some time.

LEON E. MCKINNEY

Gee, why am I not surprised that Republicans keep screwing up the abortion non-issue?

Non-issue? That's right. As Gray Davis's campaign consultants said, either you're for abortion or you're against it. (I, of course, am against it.) Republicans need to come right out and say they're against it — if they are — and say so clearly and with no apologies. They'll never win over pro-choice soccer moms with mealy-mouthed mumbles about "being personally opposed, but..." or "I have to oppose abortion because I'm Catholic." Abortion is one matter on which soccer moms show they can see right through efforts to appease. Meanwhile, the appeasement will put off prolife voters. The same principle, applied in reverse, holds true for pro-abortion politicians trying to appease prolife voters.

Once you state your belief against abortion — and it should be clear it's a belief, not a "policy position" that could change next week after the latest soccer mom poll comes in — then try to win the votes of those who disagree by stating beliefs about other matters.

CPR *Contributing Editor Leon E. McKinney is an engineering consultant in St. Louis, Missouri.*

DAVID F. FAUSTMAN

A few thoughts on why we lost:

Keep It Simple

The best way to test the effectiveness of a trial lawyer's argument, and perhaps a politician's message, is to run it past a sixth grader. If the kid doesn't get it, you will fail to connect with your intended audience. Plain language and simple words are the keys to effective communication. The greatest challenge for a person who understands all of the words in a Bill Buckley column is *never* to use those words.

We must avoid buzz words and jargon like "tort reform." (The sixth grader will think we're cracking down on illegal pastry shops.) Rather, let's talk about "dumb

David F. Faustman is a lawyer and contributing editor of California Political Review *who was active in the 1998 campaign.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lawsuits." Don't talk about teacher "tenure." (The kid will think that means that every 10 years a teacher gets a long vacation.) Let's talk about "firing bad teachers." Don't ever say "voucher" (someone who vouches?). Call it a "school choice scholarship." Don't say "my opponent was opposed to Prop 209" (What?) Rather, say "that guy is in favor of unfair racial preferences." A little pamphlet by Frank Luntz called "Conservatively Speaking — How To Use The Language Of The 21st Century To Win The Hearts And Minds Of The American People," published by the Center for the Study of Popular Culture, should be required reading for all Republican candidates.

Be A Teacher

Never forget that most people do not read newspapers. That probably means that most people do not understand how plaintiffs' lawyers are wrecking our society, or that unions, hack bureaucrats, and left-wing nuts are wrecking our schools, or that many of our institutions are controlled by liars and fools. People simply haven't taken the time to think it through. We can't just say "My opponent is supported by trial lawyers and unions," rather, we must explain (again in simple terms) *why* that is bad – i.e., "Dumb lawsuits hurt everybody," and "The unions care about unions, they don't care about the kids." We must take the extra step of *education* and *persuasion*, rather than merely invoking shibboleths. (*Shibboleth* is a good word here — Buckley would approve, but we probably just lost the sixth grader.)

Say It Again Sam

Never assume that if you've said something once that anyone understood it or that anyone will remember it. A good trial lawyer says the same thing over and over in ways that cause people to remember. Psychologists tell us that people remember things in sets of three. Abraham Lincoln (a skilled lawyer and politician) was a master of the triplet (*e.g.*, "of the people, by the people, for the people"). Black propagandists like Jesse Jackson and Johnny Cochran have refined the rhyming ditty to a high art ("If it doesn't fit ...." — you know the rest). An effective communicator should simplify the message, try it out on fresh, uninitiated ears, and then repeat it over and over again.

Making Peace With The Officers

Somehow, Republicans must reconcile with the law enforcement unions. We cannot effectively claim to be the party of law and order when all of the uniformed officers in the TV ads are supporting Democrats. This season we even lost the prison guards who had been essential to Pete Wilson's victories. We will eventually be able to establish a distinction in the voters' minds between "teachers" and the "teachers' unions," but we are not likely to separate "peace officers" from "peace officers' associations." Winning elections is about building coalitions; let's start with the cops.

Don't Take Your Base For Granted

Yogi Berra once said, "If people don't want to come to the ballpark, how are you going to stop them?" Exit polling suggests that the November 3 debacle may have been caused in large part by conservatives staying home. How did that happen? Wasn't a low turnout supposed to favor Republicans? Wasn't this the most important election in the country? How did we fail to communicate with the Republican base? Why did the wheels come off the Party's grassroots wagon? I don't have the answers to these questions, but we'd better figure it out before November 2000. CPR

Correspondence

(Continued from page 2)

him by repeating the mantra "Jerry Brown's chief of staff" continuously through the campaign. He didn't and allowed himself to get bogged down in the tar pit of abortion. Since most Californians are pro-choice, it was a slam dunk.

What also happened in California was an energizing of Democrats in response to President Clinton's predicament. The argument that the scandal was simply about sex sold well in California. Although Ms. Boxer was an easy target, she easily outran Mr. Fong's plodding campaign and final fumble where he managed to anger both the far right and the homosexual community. We take our sex seriously out here.

That, by the way, may provide the formula for a Republican recovery. In the past Republican candidates had to cater to the Christian right and appear appropriately pious when speaking of family values. Otherwise, they could never survive the primary. During the election, the Democrats routinely destroyed them as extremist hypocrites who would invade everyone's bedroom. The picture that remains is that the Republicans want to regulate your sex life. What is left unstated is that the Democrats want to regulate everything else. With the new open primary it is unnecessary to fall into that trap. Sex, to include homosexuality and abortion, should be left to the individual. Californians like to think of themselves and their state as a live and let live society. Every Californian

(Please turn to page 29)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lawsuits." Don't talk about teacher "tenure." (The kid will think that means that every 10 years a teacher gets a long vacation.) Let's talk about "firing bad teachers." Don't ever say "voucher" (someone who vouches?). Call it a "school choice scholarship." Don't say "my opponent was opposed to Prop 209" (What?) Rather, say "that guy is in favor of unfair racial preferences." A little pamphlet by Frank Luntz called "Conservatively Speaking — How To Use The Language Of The 21st Century To Win The Hearts And Minds Of The American People," published by the Center for the Study of Popular Culture, should be required reading for all Republican candidates.

Be A Teacher

Never forget that most people do not read newspapers. That probably means that most people do not understand how plaintiffs' lawyers are wrecking our society, or that unions, hack bureaucrats, and left-wing nuts are wrecking our schools, or that many of our institutions are controlled by liars and fools. People simply haven't taken the time to think it through. We can't just say "My opponent is supported by trial lawyers and unions," rather, we must explain (again in simple terms) *why* that is bad – i.e., "Dumb lawsuits hurt everybody," and "The unions care about unions, they don't care about the kids." We must take the extra step of *education* and *persuasion*, rather than merely invoking shibboleths. (*Shibboleth* is a good word here — Buckley would approve, but we probably just lost the sixth grader.)

Say It Again Sam

Never assume that if you've said something once that anyone understood it or that anyone will remember it. A good trial lawyer says the same thing over and over in ways that cause people to remember. Psychologists tell us that people remember things in sets of three. Abraham Lincoln (a skilled lawyer and politician) was a master of the triplet (*e.g.*, "of the people, by the people, for the people"). Black propagandists like Jesse Jackson and Johnny Cochran have refined the rhyming ditty to a high art ("If it doesn't fit ...." — you know the rest). An effective communicator should simplify the message, try it out on fresh, uninitiated ears, and then repeat it over and over again.

Making Peace With The Officers

Somehow, Republicans must reconcile with the law enforcement unions. We cannot effectively claim to be the party of law and order when all of the uniformed officers in the TV ads are supporting Democrats. This season we even lost the prison guards who had been essential to Pete Wilson's victories. We will eventually be able to establish a distinction in the voters' minds between "teachers" and the "teachers' unions," but we are not likely to separate "peace officers" from "peace officers' associations." Winning elections is about building coalitions; let's start with the cops.

Don't Take Your Base For Granted

Yogi Berra once said, "If people don't want to come to the ballpark, how are you going to stop them?" Exit polling suggests that the November 3 debacle may have been caused in large part by conservatives staying home. How did that happen? Wasn't a low turnout supposed to favor Republicans? Wasn't this the most important election in the country? How did we fail to communicate with the Republican base? Why did the wheels come off the Party's grassroots wagon? I don't have the answers to these questions, but we'd better figure it out before November 2000. CPR

Correspondence

(Continued from page 2)

him by repeating the mantra "Jerry Brown's chief of staff" continuously through the campaign. He didn't and allowed himself to get bogged down in the tar pit of abortion. Since most Californians are pro-choice, it was a slam dunk.

What also happened in California was an energizing of Democrats in response to President Clinton's predicament. The argument that the scandal was simply about sex sold well in California. Although Ms. Boxer was an easy target, she easily outran Mr. Fong's plodding campaign and final fumble where he managed to anger both the far right and the homosexual community. We take our sex seriously out here.

That, by the way, may provide the formula for a Republican recovery. In the past Republican candidates had to cater to the Christian right and appear appropriately pious when speaking of family values. Otherwise, they could never survive the primary. During the election, the Democrats routinely destroyed them as extremist hypocrites who would invade everyone's bedroom. The picture that remains is that the Republicans want to regulate your sex life. What is left unstated is that the Democrats want to regulate everything else. With the new open primary it is unnecessary to fall into that trap. Sex, to include homosexuality and abortion, should be left to the individual. Californians like to think of themselves and their state as a live and let live society. Every Californian

(Please turn to page 29)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Blessings of

Pragmatic Moderation

or

We're *all* Wilsonites Now

Conservatism's simplistic answers and extremist zealotry once brought prosperity, optimism, and GOP victory to California – but Republicans have matured beyond all that.

by John Kurzweil

You want to know why this outfit got the hell kicked out of it? A blind man could see it in a minute. They don't look like soldiers; they don't act like soldiers; why should they be expected to fight like soldiers?

— George C. Scott as Patton, following the American defeat at Kasserine Pass, Tunisia, 1943.

In John Henry Newman's time, around the middle of the last century, English Christians of what was called the "Oxford Movement" proposed splitting the difference between what they saw as Christianity's two extreme parties: on one side the Catholics, whom the Movement saw as wrapped to the point of strangulation in ancient tradition and respect for authority; on the other the radical Protestants, seen as determined to overthrow every vestige of solidity or coherence in religious doctrine, practice, and church organization. Newman's Oxford Movement "moderates," as they might call themselves today, proposed what they called a *"via media"* — a "middle way" — that they portrayed as salvaging the truths of ancient Catholicism without its tendency to emotional self-indulgence and anti-rationalism. On the other side, they said, the *"via media"* would partake of Protestantism's tempering deference to reason and its liberating openness to national diversity within Christianity, while avoiding its tendency to overflow into religious nihilism.

It didn't work, of course. Newman himself eventually abandoned the experiment as hopeless. Adherents of the Oxford Movement found, finally, that they could not bypass the profound differences separating the two camps or dispense with the fundamental questions at the root of the conflict no matter how reasonably moderate it seemed to be to do so. In the end, a side had to be chosen. Newman and many others joined the Catholic Church; others reconciled themselves to remaining Anglicans, continuing to oppose what they considered their

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Church's slide into doctrinal incoherence and lost spirituality.

This mythical "*via media*" is the unreal holy grail of liberalism throughout history. In every epic, it is pursued by individuals trying to be practical, seeking straightforward "solutions" while avoiding what they consider the pointless squabbles of "zealots" and "purists." So far, so good. But, human nature being what it is, people tend to become zealots for moderation, adopting "*via media*" as a general solution to every dispute, as though no real, important disagreements over first principles ever occurred, only pointless feuds arising out of pride or boredom. Thus, moderation purists dismiss as non-essential any factor deeper or wider or larger than the business of the moment. "In the long run, we're all dead," wrote John Maynard Keynes, and all good liberals nodded knowingly. Early in this century, English journalist Malcolm Muggeridge wrote that a favorite editorialists' cliché at the liberal newspapers where he worked was to call for "moderate men of all shades of opinion" to "rally 'round" so as to short-circuit, defuse, cool off whatever dispute had heated up men's passions and to find a "solution" before any real trouble began. But, as Muggeridge noted, moderate men usually did no such thing. Oh they would try, but when immoderate men forced their way through, imposing their will, the *"via media"* liberals usually turned away in self-righteous disgust or, worse, merely shut their eyes and kept bleating about blessed moderation, blithely ignoring the plain fact it was nowhere to be found. (A prime example was the craven excuse factory for Stalinism that virtually all Western journalistic enterprises became during the 1930s. Another was Neville Chamberlain's empty triumph for "peace in our times." The advent of nuclear weapons generated, world-wide, a virtual *"via media"* industry headquartered at the towering temple of babble known as the United Nations.)

And humanity's tendency to immoderate moderation is not the implacable foe of hard-edged partisans. On the contrary, it is highly useful to any combatant to induce it *among his opponents*, while ruthlessly purging it from his own ranks. The Cold War slogan "better Red than dead" was among history's most poorly-disguised efforts to persuade surrender under the guise of practical moderation, not that that stopped many Western liberals from solemnly taking up the chant.

In important disputes, the "*via media*" is usually a rationalization for ducking the hard questions — for cowardice, although it does not sound so when it is being profoundly set forth as the alternative of wise and careful men. Yul Brynner, for instance, does this admirably in *The King and I*, first setting the relativist stage of doubt:

> When I was a boy, world was better spot.
> What was so was so; what was not was not.
> Now I am a man; world have change a lot.
> Some things *nearly* so; others *nearly* not.

Then later, chiding "zealots":

> And it puzzle me to learn that though a man
> may be in doubt of what he knows,
> Very quickly will he fight, he'll fight
> to prove that what he *does not know is so!*

Just two things are wrong with the *"via media."* First, it is based on the false premise that our moral choices are never clear questions of right or wrong, truth or lies, love or hate, courage or cowardice ("Some things *nearly* so; others *nearly* not"); that they are never more than a matter of avoiding the tendency to reduce difficult questions to extremists' simplistic answers, as though "moderation" could not itself become a simplistic, one-size-fits-all panacea. Clearly, there are times when feint-heartedness or a will that the good should lose, not genuine moral complexity, lie behind calls for "moderation." In Ronald Reagan's words: "You and I are told increasingly that we have to choose between a left or right, but I would like to suggest that there is no such thing as a left or right. There is only an up or down — up to man's age-old dream — the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with law and order — or down to the ant heap of totalitarianism, and regardless of their sincerity, their humanitarian motives, those who would trade our freedom for security have embarked on this downward course."

Reagan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

titled the speech from which these lines are taken "A Time for Choosing," a time, that is, not unlike our own.

Second, because the *"via media"* has no intrinsic meaning — being no more than a point or line or path located midway, or thereabouts, between two "extremes" neither of which we like, but which nonetheless determine our home position — this middle ground cannot have any real hold on our minds or hearts. If it did, it would stop being a middle and turn into a real, fixed conviction, defeating its whole purpose. That is, the *"via media"* is by definition a slippery slope, capable of tilting first one way, then the other. Presenting itself as a sober way of avoiding stupid conflicts, it often paves the way for them. When one of the "extreme" camps seems to gain the upper hand, for instance, as, say, Hitler had before Chamberlain visited him in Munich, "moderation" induces a slippery slope of concessions and retreats. By encouraging a willingness to bargain away anything in the name of keeping the peace, such moderation usually ends in either total capitulation or a much bloodier fight than would have occurred had "moderation" been abandoned and resistance begun earlier. Thus, blindly pursuing a *"via media"* on a dispute involving first principles prepares and moves us to accept the very extremism from which it originally promised to save us, which brings us to the subject of the California GOP.

November's electoral defeat, which so many seem to regard as an incomparable disaster, is only the latest in a long string of defeats for the Republican cause.

Trained and befuddled through eight years of Pete Wilson "moderation," California Republicans should surprise no one when they prove largely unable to mount an effective political effort. The glaring mismatch that California politics has become between clear-eyed, self-assured, determined, and victorious Democrats and bumbling, stumbling, fumbling Republican losers is largely a case of moderation's inherent weaknesses predictably giving way before people who know what they are trying to do. By no means confined to California, the mismatch is plain to see in Bill Clinton's and most Congressional Democrats' not-in-the-least tempered self-assurance in the rightness of their cause or their determination to fight through, come what may, even following Clinton's impeachment based on overwhelming evidence of his felonious disregard for law, conscienceless lying, and ubiquitous abuse of trust, people, and power. In fact, the surprise in the impeachment story is less Democrat perseverance than Republican stamina at a time everyone expected them to cave in once more.

Similarly, in California, November's electoral defeat for Republicans, which so many seem to regard as an incomparable disaster, is actually only the latest in a long string of defeats during the 1990s for the Republican cause: on fighting the growth of government, on imposing fiscal responsibility on state tax and spending policy, on restraining tyrannous regulation, on re-establishing property rights or respect for the rule of law, on fighting welfare dependency, on defending the family or respect for personal morality, and, overall, on winning Californians' support for the Republican banner. Through it all, Wilsonian moderation has led the way. Of course, Wilson himself is no moderate with regard to the cause dear to his heart: promoting himself as far up the political ladder as possible. And on the one political issue he seems genuinely to care about, abortion, he is a steely-eyed absolutist to his foes. But Wilson understands the great value of parading "moderation" as cover to blunt charges of opportunism. It's also catnip to the press, which can always be counted on to repeat and amplify charges of right-wing extremism, thus helping marginalize Wilson's conservative opposition while obscuring the substance of their case against the particular policy foolishness that Wilson has, for the moment, found it expedient to favor.

In deploying the "moderation" club against his more principled opponents, Wilson grew in office, learning from his mistakes. Early in his gubernatorial term, he swung it crudely, both publicly and privately, at one point declaring conservatives "f***ing irrelevant," as part of his 1991 campaign to force an $8 billion tax increase, stoutly opposed by legislative Republicans, through the Legislature. He then openly opposed conservative candidates in GOP legislative primaries across the state. But his 1992 attempt to remake the GOP legislative caucuses in his own image failed miserably and his moronic tax policy produced massive state budget deficits. Then, after Ron Unz's 1994 Republican primary gubernatorial challenge proved that Wilson's opposition within his own Party was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ler and more potent than he seems to have thought fore, Wilson launched a more subtle opposition. The *ia media,"* he apparently concluded, was not so far left s he had thought. But, even so, whether Wilson was upholding the Republican cause as he did, for instance, on ending race preferences at the University of California, or betraying it, as he did on the majority of important state tax and budget issues, his new course remained opportunistic, which is to say, divorced from the real concerns of Californians or the good of the state except insofar as they happened to coincide with the cause of advancing Pete Wilson. To call this honorable "moderation" is a terrible abuse of the word.

Wilson was not alone in teaching his Party the cynical art of opportunism. His performance was entirely consistent with George Bush's "read my lips" duplicity and Bob Dole's silly 1996 effort to re-package himself as a Reagan conservative, as though his long, distinguished Senate career as exactly the opposite could somehow be consigned to the memory hole. Last year too, there was the added burlesque of Governor George Law-and-Order Deukmejian joining Dianne Feinstein to co-chair the retention election campaign of the lawless Ron George.

But the topper, of course, was Dan Lungren's preposterous run for governor, a weird combination of arrogance, obsequiousness to every liberal demand that he "moderate" his image, and confused fence-sitting interspersed with declarations that the campaign raised "no strong issues." Lungren deplored bilingual education's failures, but pledged to oppose the Unz initiative. He called himself prolife, but implied that as a practical matter the label meant nothing. He made a public show of refusing to endorse Supreme Court Justices George and Chin, but later announced he would vote for them. By the end, about the only clear reasons the campaign offered to vote for Lungren were that he is tough on crime and that he thought being governor would be fun, although he would not pledge to stay around for a full term if elected. This is "*via media*" brought to a new level: not merely dodging tough questions; vaporizing them so thoroughly they seemingly cease to exist. The profound confusion of this effort (which Lungren now calls a "campaign of ideas"!) recalls the mental deformations brought about in George Orwell's *1984* by the imposition of the ultimate in Political Correctness, a ruthlessly purged language called Newspeak. For instance: "The word 'free' still existed in Newspeak," Orwell wrote, "but it could only be used in such statements as 'This dog is free from lice' or 'This field is free from weeds.' It could not be used in its old sense of 'politically free' or 'intellectually free,' since political and intellectual freedom no longer existed even as concepts, and were therefore of necessity nameless."

The net effect of 10 years of Bush-Wilson-Dole-Lungren opportunistic "moderation," unsurprisingly, has been to leave the state GOP searching for an "identity." What else could be, after this succession of standard bearers (with plenty of help from others lower down the ladder) had sponged away the Party's once clear and proud identity so thoroughly, that, by the time we arrive at Lungren, it "no longer existed even as concept." This is moderation died and gone to Heaven: free once and for all to indulge any nonsense whatever because *all* causes and considerations outside of self have been eliminated. We're all Wilsonites now.

And yet, nevertheless, liberal Republicans like Brooks Firestone are said to be hopping mad and demanding that the GOP go farther: ban the prolife cause, abandon gun owners and the Second Amendment, presumably — how else could this be done? — by denying the Republican label or Republican support to any candidate unwilling to drop these last vestiges of GOP connection with real people and real issues. Some of those advocating this course are just liberals who like abortion and gun control, but others are unwitting Neville Chamberlains caught on the slippery slope of immoderate moderation and compromise. In any case, what they demand can only end in Republican suicide through starvation: a political party without a cause is a body without sustenance.

Like the eerie elementary school that former Education Secretary Bill Bennett once described where, despite a *100 percent* drop-out rate (that's right — *no* students), the principal and his staff could be seen working away in their offices, teachers presided before empty classrooms, and public address announcements blared out on schedule, the California GOP has become largely a vehicle fo would-be office holders and

PRAGMATIC MODERATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ler and more potent than he seems to have thought fore, Wilson launched a more subtle opposition. The *ia media,"* he apparently concluded, was not so far left s he had thought. But, even so, whether Wilson was upholding the Republican cause as he did, for instance, on ending race preferences at the University of California, or betraying it, as he did on the majority of important state tax and budget issues, his new course remained opportunistic, which is to say, divorced from the real concerns of Californians or the good of the state except insofar as they happened to coincide with the cause of advancing Pete Wilson. To call this honorable "moderation" is a terrible abuse of the word.

Wilson was not alone in teaching his Party the cynical art of opportunism. His performance was entirely consistent with George Bush's "read my lips" duplicity and Bob Dole's silly 1996 effort to re-package himself as a Reagan conservative, as though his long, distinguished Senate career as exactly the opposite could somehow be consigned to the memory hole. Last year too, there was the added burlesque of Governor George Law-and-Order Deukmejian joining Dianne Feinstein to co-chair the retention election campaign of the lawless Ron George.

But the topper, of course, was Dan Lungren's preposterous run for governor, a weird combination of arrogance, obsequiousness to every liberal demand that he "moderate" his image, and confused fence-sitting interspersed with declarations that the campaign raised "no strong issues." Lungren deplored bilingual education's failures, but pledged to oppose the Unz initiative. He called himself prolife, but implied that as a practical matter the label meant nothing. He made a public show of refusing to endorse Supreme Court Justices George and Chin, but later announced he would vote for them. By the end, about the only clear reasons the campaign offered to vote for Lungren were that he is tough on crime and that he thought being governor would be fun, although he would not pledge to stay around for a full term if elected. This is "*via media*" brought to a new level: not merely dodging tough questions; vaporizing them so thoroughly they seemingly cease to exist. The profound confusion of this effort (which Lungren now calls a "campaign of ideas"!) recalls the mental deformations brought about in George Orwell's *1984* by the imposition of the ultimate in Political Correctness, a ruthlessly purged language called Newspeak. For instance: "The word 'free' still existed in Newspeak," Orwell wrote, "but it could only be used in such statements as 'This dog is free from lice' or 'This field is free from weeds.' It could not be used in its old sense of 'politically free' or 'intellectually free,' since political and intellectual freedom no longer existed even as concepts, and were therefore of necessity nameless."

The net effect of 10 years of Bush-Wilson-Dole-Lungren opportunistic "moderation," unsurprisingly, has been to leave the state GOP searching for an "identity." What else could be, after this succession of standard bearers (with plenty of help from others lower down the ladder) had sponged away the Party's once clear and proud identity so thoroughly, that, by the time we arrive at Lungren, it "no longer existed even as concept." This is moderation died and gone to Heaven: free once and for all to indulge any nonsense whatever because *all* causes and considerations outside of self have been eliminated. We're all Wilsonites now.

And yet, nevertheless, liberal Republicans like Brooks Firestone are said to be hopping mad and demanding that the GOP go farther: ban the prolife cause, abandon gun owners and the Second Amendment, presumably — how else could this be done? — by denying the Republican label or Republican support to any candidate unwilling to drop these last vestiges of GOP connection with real people and real issues. Some of those advocating this course are just liberals who like abortion and gun control, but others are unwitting Neville Chamberlains caught on the slippery slope of immoderate moderation and compromise. In any case, what they demand can only end in Republican suicide through starvation: a political party without a cause is a body without sustenance.

Like the eerie elementary school that former Education Secretary Bill Bennett once described where, despite a *100 percent* drop-out rate (that's right — *no* students), the principal and his staff could be seen working away in their offices, teachers presided before empty classrooms, and public address announcements blared out on schedule, the California GOP has become largely a vehicle fo would-be office holders and

PRAGMATIC MODERATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rag-tag of power voyeurs not only lacking any sort of vision for the state, but seemingly unaware that political candidacy *can* serve any real purpose beyond supplying them jobs and steps up the career ladder. Clearly, voters have no reason to support such candidates or such a Party. Indeed, just as Bennett's "school" was no longer really a school, the state GOP has all but ceased to be a real political party. *They don't look like soldiers; they don't act like soldiers; why should they be expected to fight like soldiers?*

So, what, as Lenin once asked, is to be done? One hears a lot of talk about "finding issues that resonate with voters," as though the Party were like an unqualified job-hunter whose only hope of employment was to lard his resume with catch phrases and false promises, substituting deceit and flattery for substance. Actually, Republicans must do just one simple thing: rediscover their true purpose, the promotion and application of an idea about government. It is the idea of Western Civilization: human freedom, mandated by God, and therefore morally as well as rationally required, in fact, non-negotiable. As Reagan put it, the Republican cause is man's age-old dream — the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with law and order. The competing vision, trading our freedom for security, leads down to the ant heap of totalitarianism, regardless of the sincerity or humanitarian motives of its advocates.

Can this purpose be re-established in the Party? Why was it lost in the first place? I considered these questions one year ago ("The Crisis Neither Begins Nor Ends With Leadership," *CPR*, November/December 1997). My position remains what it was then, so I quote from that article, in closing:

"The explanation for our own and others' lack of principle and failure of courage lies in our having largely transferred our faith from God to ourselves and that, without love of God at the root, allegiance to this or that principle relies on accidentals, and may be expected to come and go unpredictably, like other chance vicissitudes of life. [I then cited the following conservative authorities to support my point.]

> "'Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports.'
>
> — *George Washington*

> "'Not until I went into the Churches of America and heard her pulpits aflame with righteousness did I understand the greatness and the genius of America. America is good. And if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great.'
>
> — *Alexis de Tocqueville*

> "'Other ages have had great visions. They have always been different versions of the same vision: the vision of God and man's relationship to God. The Communist vision is the vision of Man without God .... of man's mind displacing God as the creative intelligence of the world.'
>
> — *Whittaker Chambers*

"Somewhere Solzhenitsyn wrote that throughout Russia, whenever people try to understand why so many horrors have befallen them, the same answer always seems to emerge: we forgot about God. On the practical level, moderns have bought into a great destructive myth: that religion means slavery and atheism means freedom. The notion is as true as saying that science means slavery (to truth) and, thus, ignorance means freedom. Again, as a practical matter, the reverse is the truth: men whose faith is in God establish freedom both because they believe they can with safety (God will protect them) and they believe they must, having been commanded to do so. On the other hand, as Whittaker Chambers learned, faith in man and in heaven on earth leads inexorably to tyranny.

"Beyond mere practical considerations, addressing [Assemblyman Tom] McClintock's issue of principle [I wrote in response to an article by McClintock]: to forget about God is to abandon our civilization's *first* principle. Indeed, it is the one thing our Judaeo-Christian heritage most emphatically tells us *not* to do. Almost every calamity befalling the Old Testament Jews and every disaster the New Testament predicts for foolish men unmistakably blames forgetting about God. But this is just what we have done. Far too much of our faith and hope is wrapped up in this world and in our own capacities to move matters this way or that. McClintock describes good leaders as those possessing 'the courage to take principled stands when they are controversial, secure in the knowledge that when the debate is over, a majority will be won over.' Unfortunately, often the majority is *not* won over. Were it otherwise, Christ would not have died on a cross and our history would not be rich with martyrs for the faith. The true spirit of the West tells us to take principled stands, secure in the *faith* that God is with us as long as we are with Him, regardless of where the majority has gotten off to. Our troubles derive not from lack of faith in liberty, but from thinking our destiny and justification are here in time and measured by earthly power when, in truth, both lie in union with God, beyond this world, in eternity — *that* is the only conviction able to sustain the vast act of faith that is a free society.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Our civilization was built, paradoxically, by men who believed that our lives' single purpose is to save our souls. Only the same proposition can rebuild it. Let the left set out to save the world; they will lose it. Let *us* set out to save, each of us, individually, just one soul. Thus, by leaving it to God, we *will* save the world."

Some readers objected that my argument, especially its last point, amounted to defeatism and to advising that we run away rather than stand and fight, objections that bolster my point: too many people reflexively interpret a call to place our faith in God as one to place it in nothing at all and then to *do* nothing at all. I can think of no clearer illustration of a faith nearly, if not completely, gone dead. I blame no one for panicking at my advice who does not believe God will keep His promises to protect us if we truly give ourselves to Him, who thinks of his religion and of his relations with his Maker as isolated from and, in effect, irrelevant to his daily life in the world. If I believed that, I'd panic myself. Unfortunately, the panic obscures the simple common sense of what I said.

Urging that each of us set out to save just one soul is only another way of saying: be principled always, not only when it is convenient; keep your head when all around you are losing theirs. Stay true through bad times as well as good, when the majority is against us as when it is with us. That is what it means, what is required, to save your soul. A *conditional* adherence to principle, relying on outside circumstances we cannot control, such as whether or not most people will agree with us, is no principle at all. Any transitory, not to mention sustained, shift in public mood against our position will prove sufficient to break us, which is just what we've seen happening to Republicans. It is merely honest, not defeatist, to point out that principle must be followed as an end in itself and that the principled man concerns himself with what he can control and is responsible for — himself, regardless of what course others may take.

But how can such heroic loyalty be sustained if there is no God, or if He exists but we believe we cannot rely on Him in time of trouble, that is, if we place no faith in Him? If that is the premise, then the honest answer is that it *cannot* be sustained, an answer supported by our experience of seeing Republicans in power repeatedly fail to sustain it. Those who say: place your faith in the majority to rally to the good when it is explained to them, are ignoring the plain evidence of recent American and California history. Ronald Reagan not only explained but provided conclusive demonstrations of the good in action, but in 1990, in California, no one more principled than Pete Wilson could be found to lead the state GOP. In 1992, the nation turned absolutely away from the good, electing Bill Clinton. Such majorities have earned not our faith, but our deepest suspicion.

So am I a defeatist for all of that? No, because I deny the faithless premise. My faith is in God, not men, and I am confident in that faith, the only faith worthy of confidence — and I am not forgetting that it *is* an act of faith or that it may require me to accept on faith many things I profoundly wish were otherwise. I know that finally good will prevail.

It is a time for choosing where our faith lies. Then we can get on to the question of sustaining our principles. And then, finally, if we get that far, we have something real to offer the voters. We may then hope they are wise enough, and courageous enough, to choose the good. Having done so ourselves, and having urged others as eloquently as we can to do likewise, we have done all we can do, and that is enough. A republic must be sustained by the people. We must each do our part, but the overall fate of the nation rests beyond our individual control. It is in the peoples' hands, and God's. CPR

Correspondence

(Continued from page 23)

has a mother. They don't require another.

Jim Root
Monterey

CPR Editor John Kurzweil responds:

Whew! The only question is how the Libertarian Party failed to win every election statewide! Mr. Root's equation of the Nanny State's meddling in every aspect of our personal and economic lives with opposition to abortion — which is not "sex," it is killing innocent people — illustrates the moral chaos that has brought us so much government. An infantile refusal to make even the most elementary moral distinctions leaves us defenseless against the trampling of our rights. Wake up and look around, Mr. Root. Abortion on demand, even infanticide, is the order of the day; but, you're right, you can be prosecuted for failing to wear a seat belt. Obviously, our morality is upside down and must be turned right side up again. The state is retrained by the essential moral sensibilities of the people — the same sensibilities that seek to protect everyone's right to life. Conversely, state power is turned loose to trample us by our own moral cowardice. Call it "pro-choice" or "live and let live" if that makes you feel better; it's all euphemism for personal moral abdication that prepares us for nothing but slavery. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Our civilization was built, paradoxically, by men who believed that our lives' single purpose is to save our souls. Only the same proposition can rebuild it. Let the left set out to save the world; they will lose it. Let *us* set out to save, each of us, individually, just one soul. Thus, by leaving it to God, we *will* save the world."

Some readers objected that my argument, especially its last point, amounted to defeatism and to advising that we run away rather than stand and fight, objections that bolster my point: too many people reflexively interpret a call to place our faith in God as one to place it in nothing at all and then to *do* nothing at all. I can think of no clearer illustration of a faith nearly, if not completely, gone dead. I blame no one for panicking at my advice who does not believe God will keep His promises to protect us if we truly give ourselves to Him, who thinks of his religion and of his relations with his Maker as isolated from and, in effect, irrelevant to his daily life in the world. If I believed that, I'd panic myself. Unfortunately, the panic obscures the simple common sense of what I said.

Urging that each of us set out to save just one soul is only another way of saying: be principled always, not only when it is convenient; keep your head when all around you are losing theirs. Stay true through bad times as well as good, when the majority is against us as when it is with us. That is what it means, what is required, to save your soul. A *conditional* adherence to principle, relying on outside circumstances we cannot control, such as whether or not most people will agree with us, is no principle at all. Any transitory, not to mention sustained, shift in public mood against our position will prove sufficient to break us, which is just what we've seen happening to Republicans. It is merely honest, not defeatist, to point out that principle must be followed as an end in itself and that the principled man concerns himself with what he can control and is responsible for — himself, regardless of what course others may take.

But how can such heroic loyalty be sustained if there is no God, or if He exists but we believe we cannot rely on Him in time of trouble, that is, if we place no faith in Him? If that is the premise, then the honest answer is that it *cannot* be sustained, an answer supported by our experience of seeing Republicans in power repeatedly fail to sustain it. Those who say: place your faith in the majority to rally to the good when it is explained to them, are ignoring the plain evidence of recent American and California history. Ronald Reagan not only explained but provided conclusive demonstrations of the good in action, but in 1990, in California, no one more principled than Pete Wilson could be found to lead the state GOP. In 1992, the nation turned absolutely away from the good, electing Bill Clinton. Such majorities have earned not our faith, but our deepest suspicion.

So am I a defeatist for all of that? No, because I deny the faithless premise. My faith is in God, not men, and I am confident in that faith, the only faith worthy of confidence — and I am not forgetting that it *is* an act of faith or that it may require me to accept on faith many things I profoundly wish were otherwise. I know that finally good will prevail.

It is a time for choosing where our faith lies. Then we can get on to the question of sustaining our principles. And then, finally, if we get that far, we have something real to offer the voters. We may then hope they are wise enough, and courageous enough, to choose the good. Having done so ourselves, and having urged others as eloquently as we can to do likewise, we have done all we can do, and that is enough. A republic must be sustained by the people. We must each do our part, but the overall fate of the nation rests beyond our individual control. It is in the peoples' hands, and God's. CPR

Correspondence

(Continued from page 23)

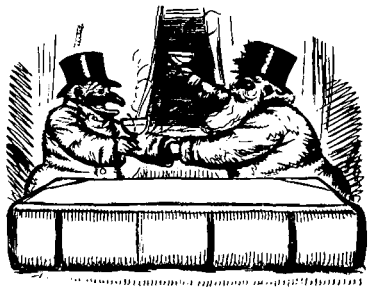
has a mother. They don't require another.

Jim Root
Monterey

CPR Editor John Kurzweil responds:

Whew! The only question is how the Libertarian Party failed to win every election statewide! Mr. Root's equation of the Nanny State's meddling in every aspect of our personal and economic lives with opposition to abortion — which is not "sex," it is killing innocent people — illustrates the moral chaos that has brought us so much government. An infantile refusal to make even the most elementary moral distinctions leaves us defenseless against the trampling of our rights. Wake up and look around, Mr. Root. Abortion on demand, even infanticide, is the order of the day; but, you're right, you can be prosecuted for failing to wear a seat belt. Obviously, our morality is upside down and must be turned right side up again. The state is retrained by the essential moral sensibilities of the people — the same sensibilities that seek to protect everyone's right to life. Conversely, state power is turned loose to trample us by our own moral cowardice. Call it "pro-choice" or "live and let live" if that makes you feel better; it's all euphemism for personal moral abdication that prepares us for nothing but slavery. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CRITICUS

Castles, Consorts, and Casinos

BY G.B. TENNYSON

IT HAS been aptly said that Swedish is German in baby talk. By analogy Criticus formulates the definition that Portuguese is Spanish spoken when mildly drunk. Which does not prevent it from being quite engaging and musical to listen to. The mournful *fado* would sound not quite right in Spanish, and the same goes for the insinuating *bossa nova*, even if the accent is Brazilian. Spanish, especially the New World Spanish heard all about us in California, is too bouncy, with the result being — *mariachi*. Spanish lacks those slurred sounds, those *s'*s that turn up in Portuguese as *sh's* — *escudos*, for example, being pronounced *(e)shKUdosh* — those *j's* pronounced like a French *j*, and those *o's* that come out as *u's* — the Tejo (the Tagus river in English) is the *TAY-zhoo;* and the tendency for Spanish *t's* to become *d's* — Margarita becomes Margarida. For Criticus, who has only minimal Spanish and miniscule Portuguese, the sound of the latter is gently intoxicating. How fortunate he was, then, to be able to spend a week in Portugal in October, intoxicated by the sounds as by the excellent and little-known Portuguese wines, not to mention by history, culture, castles, and some unusual royal linkages.

G.B. Tennyson is a longtime professor of English at UCLA, specializing in nineteenth- and twentieth-century British literature. His most recent book, A Barfield Reader, *has just been published by Wesleyan University Press.*

It came about because a long-standing, kinder than wise, friend invited me to spend a week out of his fall sabbatical sojourn in an alluring villa near Sintra, about an hour west of Lisbon. The village is called Colares (pronounced, of course, *Co-LAR-esh)* and sits on a mountain ridge looking out a mile or two off towards the Atlantic at Cabo da Roca, the point where the European continent reaches its westernmost extension. (A straight line will take you to Philadelphia). To the east the village looks over a valley covered with vineyards and chestnut trees up to another mountain ridge on the top of which sits the extraordinary Palace of Peña. This is surely one of the most extravagant and intriguing castles ever built, and one of the few if not the only one painted mainly in what they call daffodil yellow, with some portions in lavender, and the original cloisters it incorporates rendered in what they call strawberry pink. Now that's exuberance. (Note: it is officially a palace because it was occupied by a monarch, but Criticus prefers to call it a castle because its architecture is neo-Gothic and looks more like Neuschwanstein than like Versailles.)

The villa we stayed in is named *Casa de São Bento,* the House of St. Benedict. It is a converted (and, of course, deconsecrated) Benedictine chapel. At the eastern end of what is now the living room where once the altar stood there is a large floor-to-ceiling, multi-paned window that

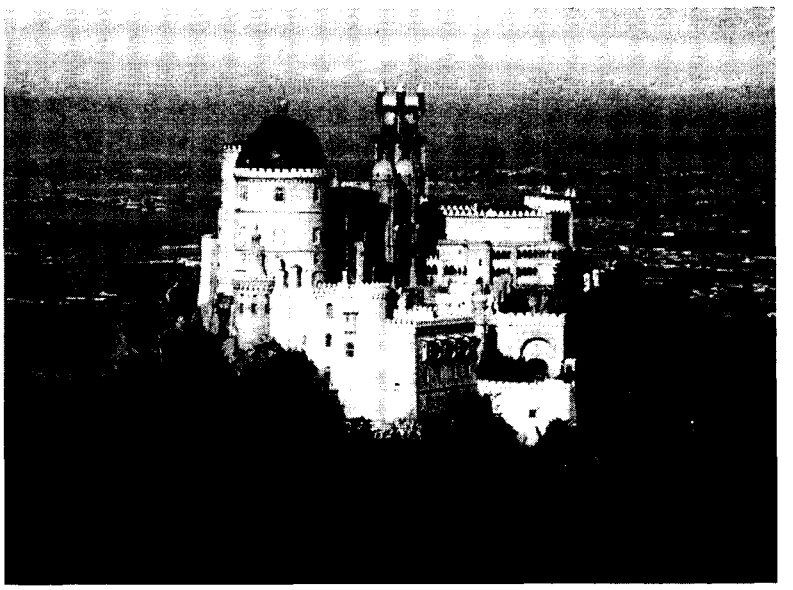
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

looks out over the valley and to the left, up to the top crowned by the yellow castle. Halfway up the slope to the right one can see the towers of a large monastery, the *Convento dos Capuchos,* jutting out from among the trees. Throughout the Sintra area are many elegant estates called *quintas,* which are generally larger and grander than *Casa de São Bento,* though the *Casa* is commodious and comfortable enough, spreading out on three levels, with several bedrooms, a capacious dining room, downstairs cooking-utility rooms, and a reception room with guest book for favored visitors to inscribe their musings. It even has its own swimming pool on the terrace below the house and directly below the chapel window, as well as lawn, vines, flower beds, and grape arbor adjacent to the pool. In the front there is the inevitable whitewashed wall shielding the house from the narrow, uphill winding street on which it stands, a wall graced with the also inevitable brilliant blue entrance gate and shutters. White, blue, and yellow are much favored by the Portuguese when it comes to painting buildings, as well as in fashioning the omnipresent tiles (*azulejos,* coming from the word for "blue") that they have been making since Moorish times and that often adorn the exteriors as well and the interiors of private dwellings.

The town of Sintra is the site of a very large royal palace of unusual and eclectic design, the result of accretions over the centuries from the time it was occupied by Moorish rulers. Under the Portuguese kings, who repaired to Sintra for the summer, the area attracted aristocracy, courtiers, and the wealthy, hence the ubiquity of the grand *quintas.* Moreover, it has some notable English literary associations, having captivated the likes of Lord Byron, and earlier the immensely wealthy but dodgy William Beckford, fleeing disgrace when his reputation at home was tarnished by an "inappropriate relationship" with a groom or a gardener or the like, the then equivalent, one may suppose, of an intern. Both Beckford and Byron were delighted by the lush vegetation of the region, and Beckford in the late eighteenth century constructed a fantastic subtropical garden around the ruins of a chapel called Monserrate, outside Sintra, a garden that so delighted Byron that he wrote of it in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.* By the mid-nineteenth century another Englishman, Sir Francis Cook, built a fantastic Moorish palace in the garden, which still stands, though totally empty.

THE PORTUGUESE-ENGLISH connection, as one can see from even these few mentions, has long been a strong one. There is also Madeira wine from the Portuguese island of the same name as well as port from the northern Portuguese town of Oporto to take into account, England being the chief foreign market for both. No wonder that Portugal, unlike the rest of continental Europe, observes Greenwich Mean Time and used to feature the famous red English telephone booths, many of which remain. Much earlier, of course, there was the Anglo-Portuguese alliance against Napoleon in the Peninsular War. Moreover, both the Por-

To the east
a village looks
over a valley
covered
with vineyards
and chestnut trees
up to another
mountain ridge
on the top
of which sits
the extraordinary
Palace of Peña.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Aerial View of Sintra and the National Palace.

tuguese and the English dislike the Spanish, the English because of imperial struggles for overseas territories as well as the Armada, the Portuguese because of Spanish domination and frequent intrusions into their affairs, much of it based on dynastic claims that have played such a large part in European history overall. After King João I defeated the Castilians in 1385, one of his first acts was to establish an alliance with England in order to strengthen his country against Spain. When a cold east wind blows across the land, the Portuguese call it "a Spanish wind."

There were no Spanish winds to disturb Criticus's week. Instead, we were able to visit some of the notable sites in the region, though never venturing too far away, both because road travel is still somewhat short of speedy, being often a matter of sharing space with sheep, and because the villa came equipped with a local cook and housekeeper whose hours proved almost as demanding as a German railway schedule. But we managed to lunch at a delightful walled hill town called Obidos, which in 1282 was given *in toto* by a Portuguese king as a wedding present to his bride and in 1441 saw its church of Santa Maria stage the wedding of the future King Alfonso V to his cousin Isabel, he being ten years old at the time and she eight. Now that's pedophilia.

There was also the magnificent monastery of *Alcobaça*, the largest church in Portugal, built by a king for the Cistercians to commemorate the conquest of a Moorish stronghold. It houses the ornate raised tombs topped by reposing effigies of Pedro I and his lover Inês de Castro, facing one another so that on Judgment Day Pedro's first sight upon arising would be that of his beloved. Pedro's father had forced him to marry an Infanta of Spain, after whose welcome death Pedro went to live with Inês. The king had the woman murdered, so when Pedro succeeded to the throne shortly thereafter he had the hearts of the two killers ripped from their bodies, Inês's body exhumed, and his court forced to kneel before the remains and kiss its decomposed hand. Now that's kingship.

BUT THE towering Palace of Peña that we looked at daily from the great window could still hold its own against these much older achievements. Peña was built in the nineteenth-century for the King Consort Ferdinand von Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

husband of Queen Maria II. Yes, that surname is the same as that of the British royal house until changed by decree and in perpetuity to Windsor during the First World War because of anti-German sentiment. And the pre-Windsors acquired the name in the usual way. Queen Victoria, born a Hannover, married Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha in 1840, thereby taking his surname and subsequently bearing his nine children through whose various marriages she became the grandmother of European royalty. Albert, who was designated Prince Consort, was a first cousin of, sharing the same surname with, Ferdinand the King Consort (the Portuguese were more generous in these matters of title than the English). Albert was an intelligent patron of the arts and sciences, instrumental in the creation of the Great Exhibition of 1851, the first world's fair. His early death in 1861 so distressed Victoria that she caused a memorial to him to be built (of which more later) that is almost as extravagant as the one that Ferdinand spent most of his much longer life seeing into being.

FERDINAND, THE "artist king," was loved by his adopted countrymen who knew him as Dom Fernando II. Along with his own artistic pursuits and patronage of the arts, Dom Fernando pursued his lifelong dream of building as a summer retreat the castle at Peña. To that end he engaged the services of a German architect, Baron von Eschwege, to construct his vision over the ruins of a fifteenth-century monastery on the site of a chapel of Our Lady of Peña. The result is the fantastic yellow castle with its towers, archways, battlements, machicolations, and crenellations. Dom Fernando filled the palace with curiosities from all over the world — a sixteenth-century altarpiece, German stained glass, oriental porcelain, an Arab room with *trompe l'oeil* frescoes, an eye-boggling red bedroom later favored by the last King of Portugal, Manuel II, and much more. The whole is surrounded by a grand park and reached by a winding uphill road that is followed by a steep uphill walkway. Fittingly it was completed in 1885, the year of Ferdinand's death. In 1910 when Portugal became a republic Peña became a museum, preserved as it was when the royal family lived there. The same was done with the Royal Palace at Sintra, now the National Palace, from which Criticus observed the president of Portugal and a large entourage depart in limousines. Better it had been Maria Pia, grandmother of Manuel II of the red bedroom and herself the last royal resident at Sintra, gliding forth in a horse-drawn carriage, but in a democratic age we must content ourselves with faded and partial glories.

All this history paled before the prospect of the realization of a longtime Critical dream — to visit the casino at Estoril. Almost no one in the English-speaking world now remembers Estoril, but Criticus recalled hoary stories handed down by his ancients from the time of the Second Anglo-Russian war against the Central Powers about the glories of Estoril. In those days it was the haunt of major and minor royalty and other aristocrats and assorted hangers-on displaced by the battles raging elsewhere in Europe. Umberto II, the last King of Italy; Juan de Borbón, King of Spain in waiting; Karl I, the last Austro-Hungarian Emperor; King Carol of Romania — all these and others based themselves in Estoril. Even the hapless Edward VIII and his wily wife, a pair better known as the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, lingered about in the area before Churchill dispatched them to the Bahamas lest they strike a deal with the Nazis to restore Edward to the throne once Britain had fallen. Or so the proponents of the view of Edward as the Traitor King would have us believe. Not that Criticus with the prospect of Estoril in the offing was much concerned with these affairs of state, even though he did delight in being told by his host that a villa in Colares, now a B&B for British holiday makers, had been a not-so-secret German communications post during the war. The place does look out unobstructed upon the vast Atlantic and would have been ideal for signal transmission. The story is that non-uniformed German military persons used it to send and receive messages to ships and U-boats in the famous and for a long time unbreakable Enigma code. No one will confirm all this today, but as evidence my host insists that our exemplary cook-housekeeper Margarida still understands German, though she would have been a very young child at the time. He thinks she may have been a message runner. It does give a little touch of intrigue to the place.

MORE INTRIGUING yet for Criticus, however, was, as stated, to visit the haunts of homeless royalty in nearby Estoril and to gamble in the famed Casino. Genial host overcame the Quaker inheritance that had convinced him that gambling was little more than supping with the devil with a very short spoon and agreed to take Criticus to the iniquitous den. Well, the casino did not live up to all expectations. Though it sits atop a moderate rise at the end of a long park flanked by handsome date palms, all

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leading down to the sea, the casino itself is nothing like the grand edifices of its counterparts at Monte Carlo and Baden Baden. Blessedly, it is even less like the mammoth vulgarities of Las Vegas. It is a low, ivory-colored, boxy structure that seems to say nineteen-thirties, which may well be the era in which it was built. To add to the downbeat atmosphere, the place doesn't even open until three in the afternoon. A crowd of about 50 was gathered at the door when we, ignorant of opening time, arrived too early.

BUT ON the bright side, it has remnants of its former grandeur in that it remains fairly class conscious. For the rabble there is a ground level filled with slot machines, virtually all of them made in America and still bearing English words and names, such as "Red, White, and Blue." Everyone is allowed in, and there is, for a European casino, a rather high noise level, though by Vegas standards it is tame. For the quality folk, however, there is the second floor casino reserved for what appear to be privileged Portuguese members and foreigners. You must show your passport, you must pay an entrance fee, and you must be dressed at least passably well, though no longer in evening wear. Inside the upper casino all is quiet and discreet. There is a central bar and there are gaming tables, to some of which the barmen will bring snacks. No machines, no neon, no glitter. This is more like it.

Only board games are allowed — roulette, twenty-one (black jack), baccarat (chemin-de-fer), and a game previously unknown to Criticus called montevideo, which is probably the same as monte (but not the trickster's game, three-card monte). No keno, no pachinko, no poker, and of course nothing so deafening and common as craps or slots. The croupiers — and each table seems to have a half-dozen — are formally dressed and formally behaved. They say the Portuguese equivalent of *"Faites vos jeux"* and *"Rien ne va plus"* in the style of James Bond films. Criticus introduced his host to the mysteries of the games, especially roulette, which Criticus favors as appropriately continental for his fantasies. The latter-day William Penn wouldn't actually play. He seemed to have the idea that one tended to lose at games of chance. Unfortunately, watching my play only confirmed him in this puritanical view.

Because they do not have the Vegas spy-in-the-ceiling security, there are many watchers who lurk about at each table looking at the play and the players with pitiless eyes. One tries to appear innocent when they gaze at you, lest they call you outside and slit your throat. Perhaps a quarter to a third of the players are women, very well dressed, almost always in black, much more languid in demeanor than the men, generally playing baccarat, and frequently looking like Jeanne Moreau in one of those French films that you can't understand even with subtitles. In this setting, Criticus could not but think to himself, "Now this is gambling."

When the Critical exchequer reached empty, we had to return outside the gaming rooms to the entrance area to change more travellers cheques for a further assault on the tables. It seemed to Criticus that just possibly a slightly smug smile was flickering over Host's face. Not to worry. The next whirl of the wheel would justify all. Money changed, we started back into the casino. But no. The keepers of the gates suddenly engaged Host William in Portuguese conversation. Before Criticus could whip out his phrase book, Host turned back to him and said, "You may go back in but not I." Had he lost his ticket? No, he was holding it. The reason? The guardians had just noticed this time around that Host William was wearing sandals without socks, forbidden attire. Criticus, however, was properly shod. Graciously I declined to return without him and suggested that we go to the lower level with the common herd and test the slots. Just possibly a slightly smug smile may have crossed my face. On the other hand, just possibly I was saved from losing more money.

AS WITH every idyll, there must come an end. Much as Portugal itself had to cease being a great world power and become instead the poorest country in Europe (albeit one now rapidly rising in the world, thanks to the German taxpayers and the European Union), so Criticus would have to cease pretending he was a *boulevardier* and move on to his scholarly duties in London and Oxford. Thus it was off to the Lisbon Airport with its inexplicable, immense metal-openwork model of a zeppelin hanging aloft in the main waiting room. Was this a remnant of wartime sympathies that used to be? As a last reminder before the flight that one was truly on the Continent, Criticus enjoyed a snack in the restaurant at a table adjacent to one on top of which, surrounded by his family and their cups, plates, and ashtrays and amidst the swirl of smoke from countless cigarettes, sat a large ginger cat looking very much at ease.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TREEMONISHA

on an opera composed by Scott Joplin
in which he achieved a synthesis of classical
form and jazz essence still unsurpassed.

Ebony wed Ivory Divinely to conceive her
Golden form and azure eyes; fit temple, stage
Sublime for Treemonisha's soul of music Spiritual and
Essence of the Earth: rhythm in black and brown and beige.

Her father treasured in his heart a thousand years of music grown
From infancy to Age of Grandeur and poetic symmetry.
Her mother was the golden fruit of passionate millennia living in the sun,
Aborted savagely in evil, crimson seas of darkest Inhumanity.

Overflowing Innocence sought lovingly to share this rarest dual
Inheritance of wonders. Treemonisha brought their union
To perfection in herself a mingling unsurpassed by her most gifted
and inspired, adoring children. Her own scorned this communion.

Art forged of love and courage in a land where freedom reigns
Owns the will and quality that's needed to survive.
Her truest lovers and disciples are gifted with the vision
To know her presence and share with her their lives.

Building on the summit of her glory; mastering the music of her
Mother and her father and the living dreams that blended,
Completed spectrum never to be diffused. Song of Angels most
colorful and full of life; a Harmony that never will be ended.

Treemonisha is the source and goal of each musician's life
Whose essence is the love of excellence. Both heart and soul
Of her are breath of life and work of happiest felicity. Her
Mother's race primarily apostate; her father's faithful, honoring, and dutiful.

RICHARD MORGAN
Jazz Drummer

Seeing this was almost as much fun as visiting the casino. Decadence lives.

Portugal had been sunny and mild, but we de-scended at Heathrow through a thick cloud cover and into a good old-fashioned English rain, as reassuring in its way as the cat on the restaurant table had been in its. In central London, yet more reassurance, if not something like a double epiphany. The glorious red phone boxes, abandoned, removed, carted off, sold to the highest-bidding American collectors of nostalgia only a few years ago have staged a dramatic comeback. They are everywhere again, these cheerful creations of Sir Giles Gilbert Scott. Further, ex-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

act imitation black versions (only one phone company has the right to use the red) have also sprung up. Why? They discovered what Criticus could have told them at the time: tourists like the traditional phone boxes, they have instant recognition, what we would call brand identification. Like the red double-decker buses, the phone booths tell you that you are in Britain and nowhere else (except, as noted, sometimes in Portugal). The spare, modernist all glass replacements were as New Coke to the real thing. Perhaps now British Airways will scrap what have been scornfully but rightly dubbed their Air Zulu tailfin designs and return to the Union Jack logo.

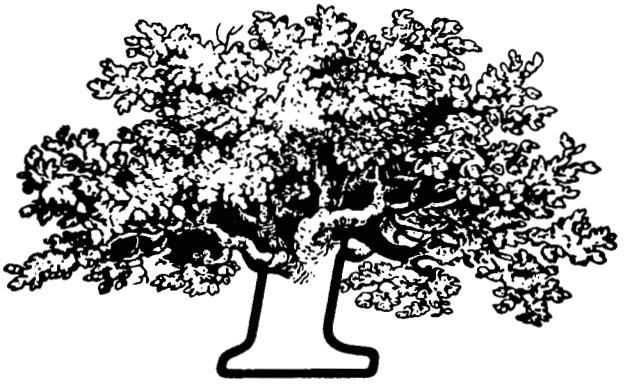
The Albert Memorial

THE OTHER half of the double triumph had to wait a day before being inspected by a grateful Criticus. It was the sight of the restored Albert Memorial. Constant Readers will remember that early on I said there was another connection between the King Consort of Portugal and his cousin the Prince Consort of Victorian England. That connection is the Albert Memorial, a work of architectural sculpture worthy to be spoken of in the same breath as the yellow castle of Peña, not least because the Memorial itself makes liberal use of yellow, but for other reasons as well. I do not know whether the Albert Memorial played any role in Dom Fernando's resolve to construct the Palace of Peña, but one can almost imagine that it did. The Albert Memorial was designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott, grandfather of the phone both master, in 1862-63. By its imposing size and decorative overindulgence, its massive statue of a seated Prince Albert under a canopy, it has, since its completion, dominated the extensive park-like gardens of Kensington Palace. Much derided in the twentieth century as an example of the worst of Victorian style, the Memorial's decline must have pleased many; for over time, its gilt darkened and flaked, its columns cracked, its roof rusted, its lustre faded. It was just another of those Victorian excesses it were better to cast a cold eye upon and pass by.

Some years ago, they covered it protectively and spoke of restoration, though little seemed to happen. Many wondered whether it would remain forever a mournful, shrouded hulk looming in the park across the road from the Royal Albert Hall, itself also a tribute to the arts-loving Prince Consort. At last, however, it was restored, and a public rededication took place just a few days before Criticus reached London. Albert's great-great granddaughter, Elizabeth II, attended, a fireworks display lighted up the sky, crowds cheered, hearts rose. Space constraints prevent a description of this Victorian glory, but perhaps the accompanying illustration can convey something of its extravagance. Be it known also that the Memorial is laden not only with gilt and decorations, but with symbolism, the four sculptures at the corners of the base representing the four great continents, names of illustrious artists, philosophers, scientists, and such are inscribed round about. And there is much more. If on Judgment Day Pedro I does rise in the cathedral to look upon Inês de Castro, one can easily imagine that the King Consort Dom Fernando will rise to look again upon his yellow castle and that his cousin Prince Consort Albert will rise to look for the first time upon the glittering golden memorial designed for him. For an impatient world not content to wait for Judgment Day and its consequent pleasures, perhaps the best strategy is to see these wonders now before the vengeful levellers that tyrannize over modern society realize that these are all monuments to Dead White European Males and must be demolished. We can only hope that if they try, they will provoke a rebellion, and that the righteous will make them kiss the decomposed hands of Albert and his cousin Ferdinand. Their respective monuments will then continue to glow in their present splendor.

Now, if only they'd turn the Royal Albert Hall into a casino....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Flanigan Printers

Incorporated

2101 Floyd Street
Burbank, California 91504
(818) 845-3769 ❧ (323) 849-3636
Fax (818) 845-1699

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lions & Tigers & Donkeys. . .

Oh My!

In the political jungle even the mighty pachyderm needs some help finding the yellow brick road and fighting the never ending barrage of predators.

THE MONACO GROUP

The one-stop for all your campaign production needs when you don't have time to stop!

THE MONACO GROUP

701 East Ball Road
Suite 102
Anaheim, CA 92805
714-533-5180
FAX 533-5181

ALL YOUR PRINTING, PERSONALIZATION & MAILING NEEDS FOR POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND FUND RAISING

rcm j97

tyfsw

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED